



Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1967

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Very Reverend Theodore F. Forosty, Holy Ascension Ukrainian Church, Passaic, N.J., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray. Eternal God, having lifted our hearts to heaven, we humbly beseech Thee to protect our President, his Cabinet, all the Armed Forces, and all statesmen here gathered today. It is known only to Thee why so many nations still await this blessed freedom and liberty, and among them the Ukrainian nation which has struggled and suffered under the terrible yoke of Communist slavery for 49 years.

Our Eternal and Merciful God, we Ukrainians who live today in the freedom of America, longingly pray in our churches.

“ * * * Men are enslaved, a nation in ruins,
And even to pray our foes us forbid * * * ”

Our Heavenly King, Thou hast proclaimed through Thy prophets who wrote for us, who called us, and who reminded us of Thy teaching to love one's country. And of this we are instructed through Thy commandments, we the citizens of this great and freedom-loving American Nation, pray Thee and ask Thee for our Ukrainian nation, for our dearest Ukraine, from which we descended, that Thou in Thy goodness and mercy, shorten this Golgotha of our people.

We put our trust in Thee, we bow before Thee, and we glorify Thee forever and ever. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

FOOT DRAGGING ON ADEQUATELY FINANCING OUR FEDERAL HIGHWAY PROGRAM

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include an address.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, the concern which many of us share over the foot dragging on adequately financing our Federal highway program recently was articulated by Missouri's able chief highway engineer, M. J. Snider, in a speech before the annual meeting of the Missouri Ready Mixed Concrete Association in Jefferson City.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include Mr. Snider's address:

THE ROAD PROGRAM NEEDS HELP IN CONGRESS (Address by M. J. Snider)

It is a pleasure indeed for me to have the opportunity to be asked to take part in the program of your annual meeting. I sincerely appreciate the invitation.

My remarks today are entitled "The Road Program Needs Help in Congress."

Yes, the nation's highway program presently is in deep trouble. It is facing a crisis which, in my opinion, is the most serious since the birth of the motor vehicle age more than half a century ago. And the crisis comes at a time when it least can be afforded.

It results primarily from two things:

(1) The failure of the Congress to provide the federal government's share of financing to permit the 41,000-mile Interstate Highway System to be completed anytime near the 1972 target date.

(2) The 17½ per cent cutback in federal aid highway work ordered in late November by the national administration.

Each of these happenings in itself represents a serious setback to highway progress. But together they add up to what I believe is the most crippling one-two punch ever delivered to America's road program.

They mean that Americans are not going to get the modern highways they need so desperately at as fast a rate as was hoped for or planned. They mean that the nation's highway program is being held back just when, on the basis of all available information, it should be proceeding full speed ahead.

This is particularly disturbing because:

It comes at a time when Americans are being killed in record numbers in traffic accidents, with total fatalities in 1966 being in the neighborhood of 54,000. This is the first year that traffic deaths have exceeded 50,000. It represents a gain of some 16,000 (or 42 per cent) just since 1961, the steepest gain ever in so short a period. And the National Safety Council says traffic fatalities could range anywhere between 57,000 and 65,000 in 1968.

The slowdown in America's highway program also comes at a time when a record 94,000,000 motor vehicles presently are using this nation's roads and streets, with estimates that there will be 120,000,000 motor vehicles registered in the United States in 1975.

It comes at a time when a record 100,000,000 Americans now are driving these motor

vehicles, with the total number of drivers expected to increase to 125,000,000 in 1975.

It comes at a time when motor vehicle travel in the United States presently stands at a record 900 billion miles a year, a figure estimated to grow to the staggering total of 1.2 trillion miles a year in 1975.

And, finally, the slowdown in highway work throughout the nation comes at a time when America's urban areas are facing strangulation from traffic congestion, and the rural areas are laced with thousands and thousands of miles of highways and bridges which are inadequate for modern day traffic.

Statistics, of course, are restricted in their meaning and impact unless viewed in the perspective of how they will affect people. Looked at in this manner, then, just what do all these figures I've cited on traffic deaths, vehicles, drivers and miles traveled tell us about the future?

Well, they tell us that there will be substantially more exposures to possible accidents—and death and injury—for individual motorists as traffic volumes shoot upwards.

They tell us that the terrible bloodbath being experienced day in and day out on this nation's highways and streets undoubtedly is going to get worse before it gets better.

They tell us that there will be even greater competition by drivers and their vehicles for available road and street space.

They tell us that the threatened strangulation of our urban areas by traffic congestion will be intensified.

They tell us that people had better start giving as much thought and concern to buying safe and efficient highways as they give to choosing the horsepower, color and accessories on those shiny new cars which they seem so eager and willing to buy.

And, finally, it seems to me, these statistics tell us and warn us—in a message both loud and clear—that as a nation we should be expanding our efforts to build new highways and modernize old ones if there is to be any hope of accommodating the onrushing tide of traffic safely, economically and conveniently.

But instead of expanding the nation's highway program, what do we now see happening?

Well, on the one hand, we see the vitally important Interstate Highway System inadequately financed at the federal level. And on the other hand, we see a federal cutback imposed on the states to keep them from spending 17½ per cent of the federal aid highway money which is available.

I want to explain each of these developments for you, and then make some comments and observations on them.

INSUFFICIENT FINANCING OF INTERSTATE SYSTEM

The Interstate Highway System—the 41,000-mile nationwide network of super-highways now under construction—was supposed to be finished in 1972. However, indications now are that it will be at least 2 or 3 years late in completion, and possibly longer.

The main reason the system is falling so far behind schedule is due to a lack of federal aid highway funds. Interstate System routes are built with 90 per cent federal and 10 per cent state funds.

The trouble became glaringly apparent early in 1966 when the latest cost estimates for construction of the Interstate System were submitted by the various states to the Secretary of Commerce and Congress. The new estimate showed that the freeway system was going to cost \$46.8 billion, as compared to the \$41 billion which had been estimated several years before.

The sharp rise in estimated costs was due to several factors: Construction costs have risen; prices of land needed for right of way have increased; and higher design standards—featuring additional traffic lanes and more traffic interchanges—are being incorporated into the remaining miles to be built in order to serve better the skyrocketing demands of traffic.

The administration introduced a bill in Congress early last year which would have revised upward certain federal highway user taxes in order to keep the Interstate System program moving along somewhat near schedule in accordance with the new cost estimate. The move was necessary for this reason: The Highway Trust Fund, out of which all federal aid highway work is financed, is by law on a pay-as-you-go basis. No deficit financing is permitted. Money must be on hand to reimburse the states for federal aid highway work they complete.

The administration bill to raise additional money for the Highway Trust Fund didn't get to first base in Congress last year. In fact, I don't believe it even got out of committee.

However, at the same time the tax increase bill was being allowed to die a slow death, the Congress proceeded to approve another bill which increased the amount of money authorized to be spent on highways by the federal government. Under that legislation, the states in fiscal year 1968 were authorized to spend \$4.4 billion in federal aid highway funds, an increase of \$400,000,000 over the \$4 billion of fiscal 1967.

I can still see the big black headlines and hear the voices of television and radio newscasters from last summer declaring something like this: "Congress Votes Millions More for Roads." It sure made good reading and listening for the uninformed, who believed the nation's highway program was being stepped up. But it did not fool anyone, I am sure, in the highway field.

Last September, in a speech before the Missouri Good Roads Association, I pointed out that the increase in *authorizations* by Congress did not mean a thing, and that it couldn't possibly result in stepping up the nation's highway program. The reason was simple. The Congress did not provide the additional revenue which would have been necessary to allow those increased authorizations to become a reality.

The first clearcut indication that there would be no step up in America's roadbuilding program came in October, when the federal government released to the states for obligation their first quarter funds for fiscal 1968. The amount released was \$1 billion, not the \$1.1 billion it would have been for the 3-month period had the money been available to cover the increased authorizations voted by Congress.

Clearly, there was to be only enough money on hand to finance at most a \$4 billion federal aid highway program in fiscal 1968. And the additional authorizations which the headlines and newscasters had proclaimed so loudly last summer were in fact meaningless.

So that is where the Interstate Highway System program stood last October—considerably underfinanced and facing a substantial delay beyond its 1972 target date for completion.

But I don't believe we've heard the last of this financial problem yet. Future cost estimates undoubtedly will show even further rises in the amount of money needed to build the Interstate System. And if that occurs,

then the shortage of federal and highway funds and delays in completing the freeway network could be even more pronounced.

Some people estimate that the cost of the Interstate System may eventually run as high as \$50 billion or more, and that wouldn't surprise me a bit. The nation has experienced considerable inflation since the last cost estimate was made. And it should be understood that when costs are fluctuating rapidly, a cost estimate often is out of date when presented to Congress because of the time necessary to prepare it.

So the failure of Congress to come up with the money necessary to finance construction of the Interstate System somewhat on schedule was the first serious blow delivered in 1966 to America's highway program.

A SEVENTEEN AND ONE-HALF PERCENT CUTBACK ORDERED

The second blow, perhaps even more damaging, came about six weeks ago. In fact, it was the day before Thanksgiving when the national administration announced that there would be a \$700,000,000 cutback in the federal aid highway program during the present, or 1967, fiscal year.

Instead of the \$4 billion program which was anticipated for the year, even with the failure to gain additional revenue, the cutback means the national program will amount to \$3.3 billion.

Applying the cutback to Missouri, it means the state will be able to obligate only \$80,924,000 in federal aid highway funds during the present fiscal year, which runs from July 1, 1966, to June 30, 1967. This is about \$17,000,000 less than the approximate \$98,000,000 released to Missouri for obligation during the preceding fiscal year.

Please understand that I am referring now only to federal aid highway funds.

And I want to repeat here that all Interstate System projects are financed with 90 per cent federal and 10 per cent state funds. Most Primary, Urban and Secondary (Farm to Market) System highway projects are built with 50 per cent federal and 50 per cent state money. However, other Primary, Urban and Secondary System construction is done with any 100 per cent state money which is on hand after all available federal aid funds are used during a year.

It should be emphasized that the 17½ per cent cutback in the federal aid highway program does not mean that the states will lose any federal road money due them. This is a slowdown imposed by Uncle Sam, and the main effect will be delays in awarding construction contracts for federal aid highway projects.

Most seriously affected will be progress which can be made on the Interstate System. The cutback will mean that there will be delays of about three months more in getting scheduled Interstate System work under contract. This is in addition to delays of three months or longer which already were being experienced due to the shortage of federal aid highway money which has been growing progressively worse.

Delays of six months in getting work under contract can, of course, mean much longer delays in the completion of some projects, depending on when contracts are awarded. For example, a delay of only one month in awarding a construction contract can result in a project failing to be finished in the fall months of a year, and instead being thrown over into the following spring or summer.

It remains to be seen if we in the Missouri State Highway Department are able to take up some of the slack in the federal funds cutback by awarding more 100 per cent state money projects on the Primary, Urban and Secondary Systems of highways. Certainly we are going to make every effort in this regard because, realizing the necessity and value of modern roads, we want to keep pushing ahead the improvement of Missouri's highways as rapidly as possible.

However, there is absolutely no way that

we can make up for the additional slowdown which is going to occur in building the Interstate System. Since Interstate System routes are built with 90 per cent federal and 10 per cent state funds, it would be unwise and impractical to put 100 per cent state money into their construction.

Digressing a moment from the federal funds situation, but still on the subject of highway financing, there is another method of highway construction which now is being explored in Missouri. Governor Hearnes and the State Highway Commission have proposed that consideration be given to building toll roads in Missouri, and legislation calling for the establishment of a toll road authority within the framework of the State Highway Commission is being introduced in the General Assembly. Naturally, if such legislation is enacted, the first thing necessary for the development of such a program would be studies to determine if the proposed routes are economically feasible. These things will take time, of course, but they do represent an additional means for financing highways and could have an impact on Missouri's long range highway development.

But now back to discussing the 17½ per cent cutback in the federal aid highway program. In announcing the cutback in late November, the national administration said it was being done as an anti-inflationary measure designed to take some of the pressure off of what is being commonly described nowadays as the overheated American economy. Not being an economist, I do not feel qualified to comment on the merits or demerits of the cutback as an anti-inflationary device.

But as a professional roadbuilder for nearly 38 years, I do feel an obligation to make several observations concerning the financial troubles plaguing the federal aid highway program and the cutback which now is curtailing it even further.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

In my opinion, it is nothing short of tragic that the Interstate Highway System is not now sufficiently financed to allow its completion by the 1972 target date. It is tragic because we in the highway field are particularly aware—and the general public gradually is becoming more aware of this too—what modern freeways mean in terms of traffic safety, in economic development and in actual savings to the people.

Numerous studies, both by federal and state agencies, show that Interstate System routes are some three times safer than the conventional 2-lane roads they replace. Presently a little more than half of the planned 41,000-mile Interstate System is open to traffic, and it is estimated that this completed mileage is saving about 4,000 lives a year that otherwise would be lost in traffic crashes.

I am confident that anyone who has driven on a narrow, twisting and congested 2-lane highway—and then compared it to the dual lane, divided Interstate routes, with their traffic interchanges, no crossings at grade, stabilized shoulders and other features—is fully aware of the safety, comfort and convenience of these freeways.

Let's talk a moment, too, about the economic benefits which accrue to users of the Interstate System. Estimates are that when the entire 41,000-mile network is in operation it will return savings of \$11 billion a year to its users in the form of fewer accidents, savings in time and less operating and maintenance costs for vehicles. A substantial share of these savings already is being realized by the motoring public from the mileage now open to traffic.

And all of us also are familiar, I believe, with the way that freeways contribute to and spur the economic development of areas they serve.

So modern highways add up to a sound investment for this nation and its people, no matter how you look at it.

Those are some of the reasons I am disturbed by the failure of Congress to finance completion of the Interstate System at the earliest possible date. But the frustration is compounded by the realization that it is going to take almost 40 years from the time the Interstate System was first conceived until it finally is finished.

That may surprise many people, who are not aware that the Interstate System was proposed back in the 1930s. Highway people knew then that such a national network of freeways was needed and was vital to America's burgeoning motor vehicle age. But it was not until 1956 that Congress made financing available to allow construction of the system to get under way.

Some may say, well, if it took that long to get the Interstate System off the ground, then a few more years in completion won't make any difference. To me it makes a great deal of difference, especially when we read the news reports and see that people are dying like flies in motor vehicle crashes day after day.

Now I know Congress has its troubles just like the rest of us. And certainly I know the members of Congress constantly are feeling public pressure to "do this and do that" to such an extent that it is impossible to do everything requested. I've been in public life long enough to sympathize with them and understand their problems. I realize, too, that Congress has been a victim of circumstances with the cost estimate of the Interstate System constantly continuing to rise, just as the rest of us have been the victim of the same circumstances.

But even with these considerations, it still is an inescapable fact that it is the Congress which has the responsibility for providing the revenue needed to complete the Interstate System as closely on schedule as possible. And I am disappointed that there have not been strong voices raised in the Congress in behalf of the additional financing which is required.

Now for a few comments on the 17½ per cent cutback in the federal aid highway program ordered by the administration.

We are all aware, I am sure, that the American economy is being strained by the increased demands placed on it to support the war in Vietnam. I want it clearly understood that I believe we must support our nation's efforts there with every resource necessary to bring that struggle to a successful conclusion, because what happens in Vietnam is vitally important to every American and to free men everywhere.

But I believe as a nation we must recognize that we also are in the midst of a "war" right here at home on our highways and streets. It is a "war" in which there has been no interruption since the motor vehicle came into popularity more than 50 years ago. It is a "war" that in 1966 saw some 54,000 Americans die in traffic crashes, more than 1,800,000 sustain injuries and about \$9 billion in economic losses.

Broken down on an average daily basis, this amounts to about 148 traffic deaths, more than 4,900 injuries and about \$25,000,000 in economic losses per day in America. What a terrible toll and price for this nation and its people to pay every 24 hours!

Both of the wars of which I speak—the one in Vietnam and the one on our highways and streets—vitally affect the interests of America and its citizens. And we should do whatever is necessary in providing the tools, manpower and materials needed to fight both.

While we realize that traffic safety is an extremely complex problem involving many factors, we also know that modern highways are one of the most effective weapons available for attacking the problem. So it is disheartening for me to see that weapon now being blunted by the cutback in federal aid roadbuilding.

If Americans can afford to continue buying

new cars, color television sets, electric knives and all the other items of an affluent society while our men fight and die in Vietnam, then it seems to me that we also can afford to buy the modern highways we need so urgently when 148 of our citizens are dying each day in traffic crashes. The nation's well-being, I believe, demands that Americans give support to both the war in Vietnam and the war on traffic crashes.

One final note:

During the last session of Congress, two new federal laws were passed dealing with traffic safety. One is the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, which will require certain safety standards to be incorporated into the manufacture of motor vehicles and tires. The other is the Highway Safety Act of 1966, which calls for the Secretary of Commerce to fix certain minimum standards required to be met by the states in the field of traffic safety.

Both of these measures, in my opinion, offer hope in improving traffic safety in the United States over the long haul.

But it seems to me that the good work of Congress in passing this legislation is being nullified to a great degree by the failure to increase the financing for the Interstate System, and by the cutback in the federal aid road program.

So I would urge active support from members of the Congress in behalf of America's vitally needed road program—not only in the stepped up financing of the Interstate System, but also in a reasoned and urgent plea to the administration to take a second look at the cutback that has been ordered in federal aid highway work.

To maintain silence in the face of 148 traffic fatalities a day in the United States is, in my opinion, a luxury that this nation can ill afford.

Thank you.

THE NATIONAL BUDGET AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUDGET

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Speaker, it is my conviction that the proposed \$169 billion budget must be examined in order to hold down the projected \$8 to \$9 billion deficit. At the same time, Congress must be careful to establish reasonable priorities for wisely using America's resources.

Congress should scrutinize all proposed expenditures in proportion to the percentage of the budget each will demand. Congress must not restrict its attacks to the politically weak new programs which aim at answering modern America's problems.

Mr. Speaker, it is political subterfuge to say the budget can be balanced by cutting the new domestic programs. Both the proposed expansion in military spending in fiscal 1968, from \$58.3 to \$75 billion, and the increase in interest on the national debt, caused by high interest rates from \$12 to \$14 billion, comprise more than the entire combined expenditures for modernizing our cities—\$3.1 billion; the poverty program—\$2.06 billion; the education program—\$4.08 billion; and medicare—\$4.2 billion.

Many Members of this House have pledged in campaigns to seek cuts in new domestic programs. I wonder if these

same Members will seek to cut our burgeoning agriculture budget. That proposed budget would artificially support agriculture prices through the Commodity Credit Corporation at the cost of \$1.7 billion when, at this very time, we are suffering scarcity in certain agricultural commodities. The total proposal for a \$6 billion agricultural budget in no way reflects the inescapable fact that America is basically an urban society.

Mr. Speaker, throughout this Congress I will be asking those who advocate cuts in educating our children, caring for our aged, helping our poor, and rehabilitating our cities if they are willing to put similar ceilings on expanding the Military Establishment—\$17.5 billion; maintaining high interest rates—\$2 billion; and retaining agricultural price supports—\$1.7 billion.

America's strength is not only military but also economic and social. Programs which look to the development of America's strength, such as NASA technology, SST development, and the rehabilitation of the human and material resources of our cities, should not be automatically sacrificed because we believe it necessary to endlessly continue outmoded programs, military and nonmilitary alike.

We should allocate our resources based on reasonable modern priorities which will allow us to fulfill our destiny as a great nation.

II. THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUDGET

I am very much impressed with the budget submitted by President Johnson for the District of Columbia. The budget shows that there will be an effort to make Washington, D.C., a city worthy of being our Nation's Capital. I believe our Nation's people want this. Particularly, it demonstrates the President's determination to give priority attention to the problems revealed by the recent report of the District's Crime Commission.

I support the President's proposal for a further increase in the salaries of the Police Department. This is our first and strongest line of defense against crime.

In addition, however, the President is not neglecting the other areas where crime prevention efforts can be significant—the strengthening of both preventive and rehabilitative programs throughout the District.

The two approaches are both necessary since the level of civilization in any area is determined by the degree to which the people observe and obey the rules of that civilization as well as the help the offenders receive to solve their individual problems.

I strongly endorse this budget, and hope that it receives a favorable response from the Congress.

SALUTE TO GRADUATES OF NIGHT HIGH SCHOOLS

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today, I am taking this time to pay tribute to academic achievement in one of its finest expressions. My hat is off in admiring salute to the graduates of night schools—some of them adults making up with hard work for time lost, some of them young men and young women who for various reasons have taken their high school courses at night.

I am indebted to Mrs. Fred Borrowdale, of my congressional staff serving my constituents from our Chicago office at the headquarters of the 5th Army at 1660 East Hyde Park Boulevard, for the suggestion. In sending me the names of the 36 students graduated this week from Hyde Park Evening School, 6220 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Mrs. Borrowdale, who is well and affectionately known in the Second District as "Bun," writes:

There are so many people who gain recognition for academic achievement, all well and most commendably earned, but these worthy people had everything going for them while doing it.

The list of people graduated by attending night school for a high school diploma should have recognition. Don't you think? The list contains names of adults as well as youth. The adult that returns to school to finish a delayed education and the youth that pursues a diploma at night, I salute.

Mr. Speaker, for myself and all the members of my staff, both here and in Chicago, I repeat, salute.

Vernon E. Miller was chairman of the commencement committee. Dr. William Rohan, principal of Hyde Park Evening School, gave the commencement address.

The high school graduates are: Barbara Ann Agee.

Alma Jean Bailey, Mabel Bevil, Johnny Earl Blakley, Sue Bully.

Roberta Calhoun, Rose Marie Cannon, Daniel Cox, Cicero Ernest Curry, Jr., Jewel Chaney.

Marcia Antoinette Dagley, Verene Dowling.

Phillis B. Finner.

Beverly J. Gayden, Margie Jean Gilliam, Jacqueline Sandra Gibson.

Lillian Harris, Joyce Lorraine Holt.

Derrell Joyce Kress.

Louise T. Maxwell, Raymond Morris, Celya McAfee, Shirley Ann Moore, Bernice Lillian Morris.

Joseph J. Peery.

Flora Belle Robertson.

Nanette Stevens.

Robert Earl Thomas, Craig Allyson Trotter, Linda Thomas, Lynda Thomas, Bessie M. Lynch Turner.

Geraldine Mathis Wadlington, Vivian Maxine Willbanks, Mary J. Williams and Linda K. Willis.

Hyde Park Evening School is still continuing registration for the high school and elementary school programs. Everything from foreign languages to vocational training courses is being offered. The evening school invites all people who want to further or implement their education to come in for program counseling. The school office is open from 6 to 9 p.m., Monday through Thursday.

DAIRY IMPORTS

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for

1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks, and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call your attention to legislation which I am introducing today to establish effective and needed controls on imports of milk and dairy products.

In my mind, it is ironic that the dairy industry is plagued with imports in view of the law which supposedly controls such imports as a means of supporting prices to farmers. As you know, Mr. Speaker, dairy imports have been limited since 1953 by authority of section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1935. However, the problem lies in the fact that imports are controlled on specifically defined dairy products, such as Cheddar cheese, butter, blue mold cheese, Italian type cheeses, and certain other products. But there is no limitation on variations of these products which are brought into our country. The total allowable imports of these prescribed products per year presently amount to 11 million pounds of butterfat or the equivalent of 292 million pounds of milk. The total imports including those with quotas in 1966 were equivalent to 2.8 billion pounds of milk. This was increased from 0.9 billion pounds in 1965 and is expected to exceed, based on USDA predictions, 3.5 billion pounds in 1967.

In order to show this more clearly, the 1965-66 fiscal year quota on imported Cheddar cheese, for example, amounted to 3.7 million pounds. Ironically, however, Colby cheese, which is for all practical purposes the same as Cheddar and displaces Cheddar in the market, is not subject to limitation. Total imports of Colby cheese during the first 9 months of 1966 were 28.5 million pounds—an annual rate of 38 million pounds. This is more than 10 times the quota for Cheddar cheese. If there is no restriction on the importation of Colby cheese, what is gained by placing a limit on Cheddar?

Importation of butterfat for the ice cream market perhaps has been the most flagrant violation of the intent of our import control law. Butterfat, in constantly increasing volumes, has been imported as frozen cream, butter oil, and mixtures of butterfat and sugar.

The frozen cream imports pose a double threat as they displace sales for domestic cream, thus serving to break the cream market. At the same time, these imports force our own cream into butter, adding to the supply and adversely affecting the market price for butter. Frozen cream, as you might guess, is not restricted by present controls.

Consequently, under the bill I am introducing today, all dairy imports would be subject to limitation. The Secretary of Agriculture would be authorized to permit entry of dairy products for any year in amounts totaling not more than the annual quantity imported during the 5 calendar years of 1961 through 1965. The total quantity would be adjusted, upward or downward percentage-wise, with changes in the total size of the market. In other words, foreign countries would share in the growth of our market in the same proportion as our pro-

ducers, but the foreign countries' exports could not grow by displacing our production.

Under my bill there would be no circumvention of the import quotas. The door would be closed to any article of commerce containing any significant amount of butterfat, solids not fat, or any combination of the two. It would be necessary for importers to obtain permits, and the amounts would be held in check by the total average annual imports during the 1961-65 period.

Effective import controls are necessary in order that our farmers may have an opportunity to achieve parity prices for their milk and butterfat. But just as importantly, if these imports are permitted to continue, they will drive many of our dairymen out of business and consequently the prices to the consumer will increase substantially. Furthermore, effective import controls are necessary to provide an opportunity for U.S. dairy farmers operating in our high-price and high-wage economy to compete free from inroads of large supplies of foreign products made cheap through subsidy arrangements. And, as a taxpayer, it is ridiculous to me that on the one hand our Federal Government should subsidize the dairy industry, and on the other hand, allow unchecked amounts of dairy imports to reduce the dairymen's market price. Also, in my opinion, it is unjust that our dairymen should be flooded with dairy products from other countries just after having reduced domestic milk production to match consumer requirements.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I might add that in my opinion this bill could well be the most important piece of dairy legislation to be considered by Congress in the last 20 years, and as such I am going to do my best to see that the objectives of this bill are enacted in this session of Congress.

INCREASE THE RATES ON JUNK MAIL

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from West Virginia?

There was no objection.

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I want to say a few more words today about junk mail. Press statements have indicated the administration will shortly ask for an increase in first-class and airmail rates plus only a modest increase in other postal rates.

Mr. Speaker, I have had overwhelmingly favorable reaction to my bill, H.R. 99, in letters from many States. This bill provides an increase of over 50 percent in third-class postal rates to cover the cost of mailing this advertising material. Support from my colleagues here in the House also indicates that the people strongly favor and support an early rise in third-class rates to help reduce the postal deficit which has reached \$1.2 billion annually.

First-class mail now pays more than 100 percent of the cost of mailing, and

third-class mail only pays 60 percent of the cost. So we ought to raise third-class rates sharply. And we should make such increases effective on the first of July 1967, and not wait, as has been proposed, until 1968 to make these raises applicable.

Before we talk about raising first-class or other rates, and before raising taxes, why not give top priority to making this third-class junk mail pay its own way?

SITUS PICKETING LEGISLATION NEEDED

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I hope that this new Congress will eradicate a very serious blot on the record of the 89th Congress—I refer to the dismal failure of the 89th Congress to consider and pass situs picketing legislation.

Needless to say, the objective of situs picketing legislation is a simple one. It will give the building trades unions the picketing rights all other unions enjoy but which the building trades unions do not enjoy, because picketing on their job sites invariably involves picketing another employer which is prohibited by the law as it now stands.

I strongly believe and sincerely feel that the building trades unions should not be deprived of their right to picket because of this technicality.

While it is true, other employers—subcontractors of the general contractor—must be affected by situs picketing when a building trades employee group pickets its own subcontractor—employer—by picketing the construction site, but this cannot be avoided. A construction site, by its very nature, involves a whole group of employers—the subcontractors. Their very proximity to one another on the job makes it absurd to consider them separate entities for purposes of prohibiting picketing of the site. They are just as much working together as the several divisions of a company, and workers from one division, it goes without saying, can picket their entire plant.

But I do not think I have to dwell on the merits of situs picketing legislation. It has been endorsed by Democrats and Republicans alike, by the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations. What I am asking is that this 90th Congress take affirmative action regarding this important legislation.

During the last Congress, situs picketing legislation was blocked by the administration, despite the pious claims of the Democrats to be labor's great friends. Where were labor's great friends in the White House when the chips were down? Where were labor's friends when 14(b) repeal came up? Where were they for situs picketing? Where were they for Federal unemployment compensation standards? They certainly were not helping labor. It is quite apparent that labor was left out of the Great Society.

From labor's viewpoint, the Great Society can be renamed the "Gripe Society." Labor has a lot to gripe about.

I hope one gripe will be listened to this year. I hope we enact the situs picketing bill. I urge this Congress to show that it is labor's friend.

PROTESTING IMPORT OF DAIRY PRODUCTS

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to hear my friend, the gentleman from California [Mr. SISK] protest the increasing imports of foreign dairy products into this country. But I would remind him that the Democrat Party is the party of free trade.

I would also remind the gentleman that it was the Democrats in Congress who approved the so-called Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which, for all practical purposes, abolished U.S. tariffs on foreign imports.

I join with the gentleman in his protest, and I hope he will join with me and other Members who seek to protect American agriculture, industry, and labor by replacing the so-called Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act with effective tariffs.

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I am glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. SISK. Let me say to the gentleman, I appreciate this expression of support from my friend. I hope I do have a lot of support in this area. As I recall in the past, when the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act was adopted, both Republicans and Democrats had quite a hand in it. There was a Republican administration in power. I grant that I supported it and I hope that we can make it work, but I do think we need to strengthen the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and that is what I hope will bring some good results out of this chaotic situation.

Mr. GROSS. Since I have never supported the abolition of effective tariffs, I hope the gentleman, and all others of like mind will join with me in correcting this obviously bad situation.

JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE IN THE 89TH CONGRESS, SAYS OUTGOING CHAIRMAN PATMAN—SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIER NEW CHAIRMAN FOR 90TH CONGRESS

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the body of the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, for the past 2 years it has been my privilege to serve as chairman of the Joint Economic Committee. As you know, the chairmanship of the committee rotates between the House and the Senate, so that a House Member serves as chairman for 2 years and then a Senate Member serves for the next 2. Today the Joint Economic Committee held its organization meeting and chose WILLIAM PROXMIER, a most able, energetic, and productive Member of the Senate, to be chairman of the committee. We can expect that the committee will have a very dynamic and highly productive 2 years ahead of it and I am looking forward with pleasure and anticipation to the committee's forthcoming activities.

Upon leaving the chairmanship of the Joint Economic Committee after serving in that capacity during the 89th Congress, I would like to take the opportunity to commend my colleagues on the Joint Economic Committee for a most productive 2 years. They are the following Members of Congress: Representatives RICHARD BOLLING, HALE BOOGS, HENRY S. REUSS, MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS, THOMAS B. CURTIS, WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, and Robert F. Ellsworth; Senators Paul H. Douglas, JOHN SPARKMAN, J. W. FULBRIGHT, WILLIAM PROXMIER, HERMAN E. TALMADGE, JACOB K. JAVITS, JACK MILLER, and LEN B. JORDAN.

It is most significant that in cognizance of the growing challenges faced by the Joint Economic Committee, the Congress has seen fit to expand its membership to 20 Members, adding a Member of each party from each of the two Houses. They are among the most able and distinguished Members of their respective bodies. In addition, the Congress has designated a distinguished Senator and Representative to take the places of the two Members who left the committee. The newly selected Members are as follows: Representatives WILLIAM MOORHEAD, DONALD RUMSFELD, and WILLIAM E. BROCK; Senators STUART SYMINGTON, CHARLES H. PERCY, and ABRAHAM RIBICOFF—Senator RIBICOFF, while not officially designated, is expected to be appointed momentarily.

It is a source of pride to me always to be associated with the members of the Joint Economic Committee and I am particularly grateful to them for choosing me as their vice chairman for the period of the 90th Congress. At the same time, like all other members of the committee, I cannot but regret the departure of Senator Paul Douglas and Congressman Robert Ellsworth. Senator Douglas, an outstanding economist and international figure in the world of the intellect, and a great legislator, was always an inspiring associate and we shall miss him. Bob Ellsworth was one of the most imaginative and hardworking of our younger members and we shall all miss him, too.

The list of productive work performed by the committee during the past 2 years is highly impressive. Moreover, 1966 marked the 20th anniversary of the passage of the Employment Act of 1946 and the establishment of the Joint Economic Committee. The anniversary provided the occasion for a special economic symposium bringing together many of the Nation's leading economists. Subse-

quently published as a committee hearing, the symposium sought to reassess the objectives of the act and the uses of public policy instruments to obtain its goals. In addition, it reviewed the administration of the act and the work of the Joint Economic Committee. The discussion emphasized the important function the committee's studies and hearings serve in providing guidance to the Congress in making its vital economic decisions. With this in mind, I would like to highlight the important studies and hearings undertaken in the past 2 years.

Each year the committee studies the President's Economic Report and prepares a report for the Congress based on the testimony of both government and private experts in the field of economics. These reports, which are required by law, serve to highlight basic economic policy recommendations and provide focus to the committee's work during the year. In addition, the committee has held hearings and prepared studies on many important economic issues and topics. This material provides a wealth of information and analysis which will aid the Congress in making many difficult economic decisions in the year ahead.

As the President pointed out in his state of the Union address, one of the first economic objectives this year will be the reduction of excessively high interest rates. Achievement of this objective will require cooperation from the Federal Reserve System. The December 1965 hearings of the Joint Economic Committee on the recent Federal Reserve action and economic policy coordination highlight the serious difficulties in the way of achieving this important goal that result from the Federal Reserve Board's intransigence to the Government and the Congress. In addition, the Subcommittee on Economic Progress received nearly 90 responses from monetary economists discussing the structure and management of the rapidly growing portfolio of financial assets held by the Federal Reserve. These materials, entitled "The Federal Reserve Portfolio: Statements by Individual Economists," were published in January 1966 and provide expert comment on critical issues of monetary policy.

This year we will be concerned with evaluating the merits of a tax increase. Members of Congress will find of special interest, the hearings in March 1966 and report in May 1966 of the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy, on Tax Changes for Shortrun Stabilization. The hearings and report were concerned with the use of prompt tax changes for countering inflation and unemployment. Of particular relevance also, are the subcommittee's compendium of statements and hearings on fiscal policy issues of the coming decade, published in February and July 1965, respectively. The compendium of statements received from fiscal economists and the hearings cover basic fiscal policy issues and provide a framework for evaluating the current situation.

The Congress will soon be considering changes in social security benefits. Sev-

eral studies and reports of the committee during the past Congress focus on the social security system and related income maintenance programs. A staff study prepared for the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy, entitled "Old-Age Income Assurance: An Outline of Issues and Alternatives" was released in November 1966. This document poses issues and alternatives particularly relevant to current proposals. Hearings of the subcommittee in April and May 1966 on private pension plans provide information on the role of private pension plans in an overall program of income protection for the aged. The committee published in September 1965 a study paper entitled "European Social Security Systems; a Comparative Analysis of Programs in England, Sweden, and the Common Market Countries, Together With a Description of the U.S. System." Finally, the Subcommittee on Economic Progress is about to release a study of Federal programs for the development of human resources, which includes a description of the social security programs and other income maintenance programs, along with analysis of their economic effects.

The 90th Congress will be called upon to reassess the Great Society programs designed to alleviate poverty and to improve the quality of life in the United States. The aforementioned study of the Subcommittee on Economic Progress, "Federal Programs for the Development of Human Resources," to be released shortly, will provide a convenient compilation of these Federal programs. It includes extensive detail of program operation, objectives, and coordination, as well as analysis of economic aspects and impacts. As part of its general inquiry into this field, the subcommittee held hearings in June 1966 and subsequently issued a report on "Automation and Technology in Education." The report appraises the potential effects of automation on education, and indicates its significance for resource usage in this important area. Also related to alleviating the problems of poverty, but with a different approach, are the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics' hearings and report on "Job Vacancy Statistics," published in May and June 1966, respectively. Here the committee appraises the feasibility and usefulness of a regular survey of job vacancies, as a complement to the Nation's manpower and placement programs.

Not only must we evaluate Federal efforts to achieve our Great Society objectives, but we must also consider ways to better enable our State and local governments to meet their urgent needs. Proposals for Federal tax sharing with State and local governments are now receiving much attention. The Subcommittee on Economic Progress has just completed a two-volume study of "State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing Over the Next 10 Years." This study, prepared for the subcommittee by experts from Government departments, private industry, and trade associations, provides extensive material upon which informed judgments can be made.

Of continuing concern is our balance-of-payments deficit. Our ability to control this problem is essential to the continuance of our foreign aid programs, both military and economic, and is thus, intimately connected with the success of our foreign policy. During the past 2 years the Subcommittee on International Exchange and Payments has been particularly concerned with international monetary reform, which will lessen world dependence upon the dollar and the pound as reserve currencies. In July 1965 the subcommittee held hearings on "Guidelines for Improving the International Monetary System," and in August issued a report of its findings. Representatives REUSS and ELLSWORTH undertook a factfinding trip to Western Europe in November 1965 to explore these and other related issues. Their report, entitled "Off Dead Center: Some Proposals To Strengthen Free World Economic Cooperation," was published in December 1965. Investigation of these issues continued in the past year with hearings before the Subcommittee on International Exchange and Payments on a "New Approach to U.S. International Economic Policy." The report following the hearings was entitled "Twenty Years After: An Appeal for the Renewal of International Economic Cooperation on a Grand Scale."

Intelligent formulation of our foreign policy requires the greatest information possible about developments within the Soviet Union and mainland China. Not only do we need to keep abreast with political developments, but we also need to find out what economic achievements or setbacks have occurred. Economic strength is directly connected to military capacity, as well as to the ability of a country to meet its domestic needs. In August 1966, the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy released the latest in a series of studies on the Soviet economy. The comprehensive research studies, entitled "New Directions in the Soviet Economy," cover the topics: economic policy, economic performance, human resources and the world outside. During the past year this subcommittee initiated a parallel series of studies on the Chinese economy. This compendium, to be released shortly, will be followed by hearings this year.

Finally, our economic knowledge and decisions can only be as accurate as the statistics we employ. As chairman of the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics, Senator PROXMIRE has conducted several important hearings and released reports aimed at improving our economic statistics. These include the hearings and report on "Measuring the Nation's Wealth," printed in June 1965 and August 1965, respectively; and the hearings and report on the "Balance of Payments Statistics of the United States," released in June 1965 and July 1965, respectively. In addition the subcommittee has prepared studies on "Improved Statistics for Economic Growth, July 1965 and March 1966," and "Inflation and the Price Indexes, July 1966."

Listed below are the committee's publications which are all available at the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

In each case the price is indicated. It is also important to note that the committee maintains limited supplies of its publications which are available to members free of charge.

The list follows:

Improved Statistics for Economic Growth: Comments by Government Agencies on Views submitted to the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics. March 1966. 84 p. 25 cents.

January 1966 Economic Report of the President:

Part 1, Hearings, February 1 and 2, 1966. 169 p. 50 cents.

Part 2, Hearings, February 3, 4 and 8, 1966. 176 p. 55 cents.

Part 3, Hearings, February 9 and 10, 1966. 170 p. 45 cents.

Part 4, Hearings, Invited Comments. 164 p. 45 cents.

Joint Economic Report on the 1966 Economic Report of the President, March 1966. (H. Rept. 1334). 86 p. 25 cents.

Latin American Development and Hemisphere Trade. Report of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Economic Relationships. March 1966. 17 p. 15 cents.

Twentieth Anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946, An Economic Symposium. Hearings, February 23, 1966. 150 p. 45 cents.

Background Material on Economic Impact of Federal Procurement—1966: Materials prepared for the Subcommittee on Federal Procurement and Regulation. March 1966. 134 p. 35 cents.

Economic Impact of Federal Procurement—1966. Hearings, January 24, March 23 and 24, 1966. 450 p. \$1.25.

Economic Impact of Federal Procurement—1966. Report of the Subcommittee on Federal Procurement and Regulation. May 1966. 22 p. 15 cents.

Short-Run Stabilization and Tax Changes. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy, March 16, 17, 18, 22, and 30, 1966. 318 p. 75 cents.

Short-Run Stabilization and Tax Changes. Report of the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy. May 1966. 28 p. 15 cents.

Inflation and the Price Indexes. Materials submitted to the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics. June 1966. 129 p. 35 cents.

Government Price Statistics. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics, May 24, 25, and 26, 1966. 266 p. 70 cents.

Government Price Statistics. Report of the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics. July 1966. 19 p. 15 cents.

Job Vacancy Statistics. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics, May 17 and 18, 1966. 215 p. 60 cents.

Job Vacancy Statistics. Report of the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics, June 1966. 6 p. 10 cents.

Private Pension Plans. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy: Part 1, April 26, 27; and May 2, 1966. 70 cents.

Private Pension Plans. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy: Part 2, May 3, 9, 11, and 20, 1966. 265 p. 70 cents.

Discriminatory Ocean Freight Rates and the Balance of Payments. Part 4. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Federal Procurement and Regulation, May 6 and 19, 1966. 148 p. 45 cents.

Discriminatory Ocean Freight Rates and the Balance of Payments. Report of the Subcommittee on Federal Procurement and Regulation. August 1966. 26 p. 15 cents.

Technology in Education. Hearings of the Subcommittee on Economic Progress, June 6, 10, and 13, 1966. 277 p. 65 cents.

Automation and Technology in Education. Report of the Subcommittee on Economic Progress. August 1966. 14 p. 10 cents.

Economic Policies and Practices. Paper No. 9, Foreign Banking in the United States. July 1966. 35 p. 15 cents.

New Directions in the Soviet Economy. Studies prepared for the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, August 1966.

Part I. Economic Policy. 100 p. 30 cents.

Part IIA. Economic Performance. 230 p. \$1.00. (1) Aggregate National Product. (2) Industry.

Part IIB. Economic Performance. 250 p. 60 cents. (3) Agriculture. (4) Consumption. (5) Transportation.

Part III. Human Resources. 280 p. 65 cents.

Part IV. The World Outside. (Also includes a selected bibliography of Recent Soviet Monographs and Appendixes.) 220 p. 55 cents.

Twentieth Anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946: An Economic Symposium. Supplement to Hearing February 23, 1966. August 1966. 196 p. 50 cents.

New Approach to United States International Economic Policy. Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Exchange and Payments, September 9, 1966. 43 p. 20 cents.

Twenty Years After: An Appeal for the Renewal of International Economic Cooperation on a Grand Scale. Report of the Subcommittee on International Exchange and Payments. September 1966. 4 p. 10 cents.

Old Age Income Assurance: An Outline of Issues and Alternatives. Materials prepared by the Committee staff for the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy. November 1966. 39 p. 15 cents.

State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing. Study prepared for the Subcommittee on Economic Progress. Volume 1. December 1966. 693 p. \$2.00.

State and Local Public Facility Needs and Financing. Study prepared for the Subcommittee on Economic Progress. Volume 2. December 1966. 453 p. \$1.25.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUDGET MESSAGE—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 15 PT. 2)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and together with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I present the budget for the District of Columbia for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1967.

Notwithstanding increased attention to the District of Columbia by the Federal Government in recent years, there is persuasive evidence that much remains to be done if the Nation's Capital is to be a capital in which all Americans can take pride. Problems of housing, education, employment, crime, and a rapidly changing racial balance—the problems of most large American cities—are critical. Now, not later, is the time to attack them.

American citizens have a right to express themselves at the polls about the people to run their governments. The citizens of the District must be given a voice in their own government through home rule. I believe that the last Congress should have granted home rule to the citizens of the District, and I urge the present Congress to give them home rule.

Two recent reports underscore the urgency of the District's needs. A 4-year study completed in August 1966 under a grant from the Department of Housing

and Urban Development found a gradual worsening of the physical, social, and economic conditions of the District. The report concluded that to do no more than just "hold the line" will require \$175 million in additional funds over the next 8 years. To make "substantial inroads" on present conditions will require \$750 million over that same period, and a course of "total action toward solving the problems" would require additional expenditures of \$3 billion between now and 1975. This is a measure of the magnitude of what we are facing and of the inadequacy of our past efforts.

The other report, completed last month, is that of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia. The Commission recommends many changes in the agencies and programs directly concerned with crime, some of which are reflected in this budget. The Commission also expressed its concern at inadequacies in other District programs—in employment, housing, education, health, welfare, and recreation. Significantly, it adds that if these deficiencies in community life "are allowed to continue or to worsen, it will be difficult to formulate solutions to our crime problems, no matter what action is taken in the police, court, or correctional fields."

I shall shortly transmit to the Congress proposals to enable the District to come to grips with its needs. It must move forward, not stand still or fall back.

The budget which I am presenting reflects the needs of the present. However, the District must prepare for greater efforts in the years ahead and it must consider sources of new revenue. To do so successfully, it must have the best advice and assistance possible. I will therefore include a 1967 supplemental budget for the District, which I will shortly transmit to the Congress, \$200,000 for an independent study of the entire range of District revenue sources, actual and potential, to determine what changes should be made in its fiscal policies and tax structure. I would expect the study to be completed in time for consideration with the District's budget for fiscal 1969.

The Federal Government, of course, must meet its own responsibilities to the District. It is our Capital City. The Federal Government depends for its own proper functioning on a healthy and stable District. Moreover, the District, as the heart of a rapidly expanding, prosperous metropolitan area, directly affects the character and livability of the entire region. Self-interest as well as proper pride in our Capital dictates that the Federal contribution to the city's revenues be completely adequate.

In my judgment, the Federal contribution is not yet at that level. Large but essential increases in District expenses have not been adequately matched by increases in the Federal payment. For that reason, I am again recommending to the Congress that the basis for determining the authorized Federal payment to the District be established as a percentage of basic local tax revenues.

This basis is not only more equitable for the present, but also will maintain an equitable balance into the future as changes occur in the tax burden of the

District taxpayers. Revenues will be more predictable and forward planning of District programs will be more meaningful. In fiscal 1968, based on the current estimate of the specified tax revenues of \$282.3 million, this basis would fix the authorization at \$70.6 million—\$10.6 million above the present authorization of \$60 million. In fiscal 1967, this basis would have fixed the authorization at \$64 million. The change in a period of only 1 year illustrates the need for a basis which will continue to reflect a fair apportionment of the costs of general District government between District taxpayers and the Federal Government.

Another aspect of District finances is also vitally in need of revision. The District is now compelled to borrow for its capital expenditures from the Treasury. The total of such borrowings for the general fund—which, of course, must in each instance be approved in the appropriation bills—cannot now exceed the fixed amount of \$290 million. Repayments by the District are not taken into account; once the authorized amount has been borrowed the District's authority is exhausted, even though its outstanding obligations may be less than the \$290 million authorized.

This type of authorization is both unnecessary and unfair. The District should not, of course, borrow beyond its needs, which the Congress evaluates in appropriation bills. Neither should it borrow beyond its capacity to repay; but that capacity, rather than an arbitrary dollar limit, should be the measure of its maximum permitted debt. I will, therefore, also propose legislation which will create a District debt ceiling related to the annual amount of general fund revenue, including the authorized Federal payment and using the same general fund tax revenue base proposed for the Federal payment authorization. A fair limitation—6 percent—of such revenues for debt service would permit a debt ceiling of \$335 million in fiscal 1968. This is \$45 million above the present authorization, and will, of course, permit the District to take advantage in the future of any portion of its present obligation which it has repaid.

These changes in the Federal payment authorization and in the District's borrowing authority are needed now. The Commissioners, on their part, intend to increase the real and personal property tax rates by 20 cents per \$100 of assessed valuation, to produce an estimated additional revenue of \$8 million. The District is also continuously seeking to reduce costs and improve management. For example, its cost reduction program has—

Saved \$500,000 in simplification of paperwork.

Saved \$57,000 annually and some 50,000 police man-hours, by use of special school crossing guards.

Saved \$250,000 during the past 2 years by disposal of obsolete records to release prime office space.

Saved \$97,000 annually in clerical time by simplifying police field reports.

Reduced inventories by \$100,000 by using computers for improving inventory management.

Efforts to eliminate unnecessary ex-

pense and improve management, and the added financial resources proposed, will permit an expenditure budget for fiscal 1968 which is appropriate to the District's requirements, both for operating

expenses and for catching up on a major backlog of sorely needed capital projects. A table summarizing the District's budget and a description of significant budget proposals follow:

Authorizations and financing

(In thousands of dollars)

	1966 actual	1967 estimate	1968 estimate
Education:			
Operating expenses	75,641	86,529	101,028
Capital outlay	17,569	27,213	63,270
Welfare and health:			
Operating expenses	80,958	90,945	106,809
Capital outlay	6,014	2,572	5,889
Highways and traffic:			
Operating expenses	14,203	15,350	16,307
Capital outlay	9,852	15,455	18,501
Public safety:			
Operating expenses	79,957	91,591	92,295
Capital outlay	1,687	1,630	3,773
Parks and recreation:			
Operating expenses	11,052	13,360	17,619
Capital outlay	1,035	1,253	4,105
General operating expenses:			
Operating expenses	20,536	23,507	27,570
Capital outlay	2,110	898	13,705
Sanitary engineering:			
Operating expenses	23,257	24,708	26,625
Capital outlay	12,547	12,747	17,516
Repayment of loans and interest	5,690	6,077	7,790
Payment of District of Columbia share of Federal capital outlays	687	1,350	1,247
Contribution to rail rapid transit system	2,000	4,527	—
Judgments, refunds, and other expenses	3,983	980	1,851
Total new obligational authority	369,078	420,692	525,900
Distribution of new obligational authority:			
General fund	(325,984)	(367,207)	(464,687)
Highway, water, and sewage works funds	(43,094)	(53,485)	(61,213)
Proposed for later transmittal:			
Police pay increase—proposed legislation	—	220	1,327
Plans for new District of Columbia colleges—existing legislation	—	—	500
Reserves for indefinite appropriations	39	1,040	940
Funds required in subsequent years to pay obligations for capital projects (net)	-1,750	-2,851	-16,964
Total financial requirements	367,367	419,101	511,703
Revenues and balances:			
Taxes, fees, etc. ¹	293,802	321,562	353,046
Federal payment:			
Existing legislation	44,250	60,000	60,000
Proposed legislation	—	—	10,600
Loans for capital outlay:			
Existing legislation	28,312	37,527	49,600
Proposed legislation	—	—	34,200
Funds released to surplus	2,841	3,618	4,720
Beginning and end of year balances (net) ²	-1,833	-3,606	-453
Total revenues and balances	367,367	419,101	511,703

¹ Includes increases in real estate taxes from \$2.70 to \$2.90 per \$100 assessed valuation and in personal property taxes from \$2 to \$2.20 per \$100 of assessed valuation in fiscal year 1968.

² Balances are in the highway, water, and sewage funds. No general fund balance estimated in 1967 or 1968.

EDUCATION

Operating funds for the public school system in 1968 require \$101 million, an increase of \$14.5 million over 1967.

The urgent need further to improve District schools has been emphasized not only in a recent congressional investigation and report, but also in the report of the Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia. The deficiencies are substantial, and they are serious. Education for every child to the limits of his capacity is basic to all other efforts. To achieve this goal in the District, the quality of education must be improved, the needs of children from deprived and inadequate family backgrounds must be given more attention, and the physical plant must be expanded and modernized. The budget reflects the urgent need to accomplish each of these objectives as quickly as possible.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

With the funds provided in the budget the quality of education will be improved by—

More support, through additional teachers, for elementary school instruc-

tion in such fields as science, mathematics, music, art, physical education, and foreign languages.

Added professional help for schools of all levels in such areas as reading, speech, curriculum, library science, guidance, history, and business education.

An internship program to assist teachers in their first year of teaching through in-service training.

Attaining Board of Education standards for librarians and counselors: a librarian for each school where facilities are available, and a ratio of counselors to pupils of 1:750 in elementary schools and 1:400 in the secondary schools.

Beginning a reduction in class sizes in schools where space is available. Regular academic pupil-teacher ratios in junior and senior high schools will be reduced from 25:1 to 21:1. Because of space limitations, the goal of a ratio of 24:1 in elementary schools must await the construction program.

Additional assistant principals in elementary schools to improve school administration and instructional supervision.

MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE DISADVANTAGED

The funds provided in the budget will also help to meet the needs of children whose background and family resources are inadequate. Nearly half the pupils in the District's schools come from areas where the average family income is under \$5,000. Funds from Federal programs have helped to enrich the school experience of these children, but more is necessary. The budget will—

Provide teachers who can give individualized instruction to pupils who can be helped by more teacher attention provided through team teaching, ungraded classrooms, smaller class arrangements, seminars, and tutorial assistance in after-school study.

Initiate a prekindergarten program for 3,000 children, to convert the Head-start approach into a full-year program.

Provide help to approximately 60,000 students in remedial reading.

Double the present number of pupil personnel teams to provide help both to pupils and to teaching personnel in determining the abilities and emotional stability of children.

Expand the school lunch program.

Provide matching funds to qualify for teachers from the National Teachers Corps.

CONSTRUCTING AND EQUIPPING SCHOOLS

Funds in the amount of \$63.3 million are provided in the budget for various phases of school construction. This is a substantial increase over past levels, but it is a more current assessment of the need. There is no economy in delay. On the contrary, postponement of essential facilities condemns many students to educational handicaps that will endure throughout their lives. The budget is intended to reflect urgency.

It will provide funds for—

Construction of 17 projects for which site and planning funds have already been appropriated—including two new elementary schools, two elementary school replacements, additions to 12 other schools, and an addition to the school warehouse.

Equipment for elementary and junior high construction projects already funded.

Planning and construction funds for three elementary and one senior high school additions.

Site and planning funds for 28 school projects.

Seventy-five portable prekindergarten classrooms for the most seriously deprived areas of the District.

An addition to Sharpe Health School, and a new school for the severely mentally retarded.

Funds are provided for the construction of a new Shaw Junior High School, for which the Congress provided special legislation in 1966. Funds to enable the Board of Vocational Education and the Board of Higher Education to begin planning for the two new institutions authorized by Public Law 89-791 can be supplied from existing resources in 1967. Provision is made in the budget for financing the two Boards in 1968.

CRIME

The budget reflects my continuing concern that people who live, work, and

visit in the Nation's Capital must be safe in their persons and their property. The continuing increase in the District's rate of crime demonstrates that our efforts thus far have not been adequate. The President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia has now given us a measure of our needs and of the steps to be taken. Its recommendations are being carefully evaluated, and a great many of them are reflected in the budget. I will shortly be proposing legislation to carry out other recommendations which require legislative approval.

The attack on crime must be on a broad front. The Police Department must be provided with adequate resources. No less must be made available to the courts, the prosecutors, the Department of Corrections, and to all of the youth-serving agencies that seek to prevent delinquency, and to help young offenders become law-abiding citizens. The budget reflects much of this need.

STRENGTHENING THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

For the Police Department itself, the budget provides—

Additional civilian positions and additional computer services to carry forward the planning and information activities of the Department. When these activities are fully staffed, they are estimated to achieve greater manpower utilization in the Department equivalent to 600 additional policemen.

Additional civilians to relieve policemen from clerical duties, and to assist in improving the Department's community relations, training, recordkeeping, and criminal investigations.

Additional sergeants—from a ratio of 1:20 patrolmen to 1:9—to improve the supervision of patrolmen.

Increases in the Police Cadet program and in the number of school crossing guards.

Increased police mobility through additional automobiles.

The 1967 supplemental budget for the District will provide an additional \$420,000 to expand and modernize the police communications system.

I shall also transmit to the Congress a bill to provide an increase in the salaries of the Police Department, to be applied principally in the lower ranks as an aid to recruitment of policemen of high quality. The 1967 supplemental budget will request funds to make this increase effective on May 1, 1967. This increase along with that already authorized by the 89th Congress and the District's more successful recent recruiting efforts should bring the Department very near its authorized strength in fiscal 1968. A direct result of this will be a saving of \$2 million in tactical force operations, since there will be a sharp decrease in the need to staff this force on an overtime basis by the use of patrolmen on their day off.

CRIME PREVENTION AND OTHER CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROGRAMS

These improvements in the Police Department will fail to realize their full potential, however, unless improvements are also made in other areas. The crime prevention budget, therefore, also includes funds for—

A major increase in the staff of the

roving leader program, which has had marked success in working with youth gangs and delinquency-prone young people.

Stepping up sharply the transfer begun in fiscal 1967 of children from large institutions to group shelters, foster and prerelease homes. Funds are provided to add 20 group foster homes to the six funded in 1967 and to provide eight youth group homes for delinquent children. The savings in cost to the District will be substantial because the present system of institutional care is expensive.

Additional child support and probation workers for the juvenile court.

A research unit to permit the juvenile court to determine how to improve its operations and procedures.

Strengthened court services, including increased legal assistance to indigents in the court of general sessions.

NEW FACILITIES

The budget also reflects the urgent recommendation of the Crime Commission that if the war on crime is to be effective, major improvements are needed in the District's physical facilities. Funds are provided to construct, at Blue Plains, the new police training facility. Survey funds are included to make comprehensive studies for a modern detention and diagnostic facility to replace the District of Columbia jail, for new court facilities, and for a modern facility to replace the present Receiving Home. Funds are also provided for plans and specifications for an alcoholic treatment center at the District of Columbia General Hospital, which will continue and improve the adjustments made necessary by the long overdue removal of the chronic alcoholic from the criminal process.

HEALTH

The budget provides a total of \$66.5 million for the operation of public health and vocational rehabilitation programs for 1968, an increase of \$8.2 million over 1967. These funds are needed to improve a variety of services, and to remedy some serious deficiencies.

The Department of Public Health has made impressive gains in recent years. Much more will be possible, with additional Federal assistance, when present laws are amended to permit the District to join the many other States which are receiving Federal assistance in local health activities under title XIX of the Social Security Act. Under that program, not only will many more District residents receive needed medical attention, but increasing pressures upon both District of Columbia General Hospital and Children's Hospital will be eased. I urge the Congress to give prompt attention to the necessary legislation.

The budget will maintain the momentum of prior years, and make other essential improvements. It will—

Increase the number of nurses, nurses' assistants, and the capacity of the nursing school at District of Columbia General Hospital. These increases, together with the improvement in the recruiting ability of the hospital which will result from the recently announced pay increases for nurses, should materially improve the quality of nursing care at the

hospital. More funds are also provided to the hospital for supplies and equipment.

Provide expanded services for the aged, through a geriatrics clinic at the Potomac Gardens public housing project for the aged, and through an increase in home health services.

Permit payment to contract hospitals and Freedmen's Hospital of their reasonable costs for the services they provide the medically indigent residents of the District, in conformance with the criteria set forth in Public Law 89-97.

Provide plans and specifications for the Northwest Community Health Center.

The average daily patient load of St. Elizabeths Hospital for which the District is responsible continues to decline. The per diem cost, however, continues to increase so that an additional \$3.6 million will be required in 1968.

WELFARE

The budget provides \$40.3 million for the Department of Welfare in 1968, an increase of \$7.7 million over 1967.

The operations of the Welfare Department continue to reflect efforts to rehabilitate individuals and families, increase their self-sufficiency, and in as many cases as possible assist them to become self-supporting. Funds are provided to maintain the present ratio of social workers to families with dependent children, to complete the basic staffing for two recently established neighborhood centers, and to meet additional staff needs for the aged at District of Columbia Village. Funds are also provided to staff the new District facility which will replace the present National Training School for Boys.

Many special welfare programs have been established in recent years to meet the needs of the less advantaged. The budget will permit intensifying this effort by—

Expanding the crisis assistance and emergency family shelter programs.

Continuing and improving the training and job placement assistance programs for unemployed parents of needy children. This effort will continue to be closely related to the work training program financed under title V of the Economic Opportunity Act, and provides for the removal of limitations that now prevent Federal assistance under the Social Security Act.

Paying the actual rental expenses of public-assistance recipients if their quarters meet building code requirements and a reasonable standard of maintenance.

Further expanding the day care program.

PARKS AND RECREATION

The needs of those agencies concerned with parks and recreation will require \$17.6 million, an increase of \$4.3 million over 1967.

The additional funds will permit a substantial expansion of supervised recreational activity. The major portion, \$2.5 million, will provide a comprehensive summer program for youth, combining organized recreation with educational and preschool training. These funds, together with \$500,000 which will be in-

cluded in the supplemental 1967 budget, are needed to continue and improve the District's summer programs for young people. During the past 2 years District programs have been among the most successful in the United States. Their value can no longer be doubted.

Funds are also provided for more adequate coverage of existing facilities, for more hours of operation of 90 playgrounds recently lighted for night use with the help of private contributions, for an extended summer season for swimming pools, for expanded recreation programs serving the physically handicapped and the mentally retarded, and for staffing the Buchanan playground which will also be improved by a grant from the Astor Foundation.

The capital budget reflects an urgent need to increase the recreation facilities available in the District. A total of \$4.1 million is proposed to provide, among other things—

Acquisition of the old car barn on East Capitol Street for development into a community and recreation center to serve an area badly in need of such a facility.

Construction funds for two swimming pools, and plans for four more.

Reconstruction of the Chevy Chase Community Center, for which Congress in fiscal 1967 provided funds to prepare plans and specifications.

The 1967 supplemental budget will provide funds to make available next summer 15 walk-to-learn-to-swim pools for younger children.

TRANSPORTATION

The budget reflects the substantial progress toward an ultimate solution of the transportation program that was made during the past year.

The mass transit program moved closer to the regional system which I recommended when the 89th Congress enacted for the District and granted Federal consent to the compact creating the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, with power to plan, finance, and operate a regional system. Maryland, Virginia, and the District have already provided funds for the operation of the authority in 1967 and are budgeting funds for that purpose in 1968.

Funds are already available to permit continuation of preliminary engineering and construction work by the National Capital Transportation Agency on that part of the system authorized by the Congress in 1965. Funds for the District's share of the engineering and construction costs of the authority are authorized. Although the authority does not come into being officially until February 20, 1967, the provisional board of directors has been actively at work for several months.

Agreement reached during 1966 by the Policy Advisory Committee, and accepted by the District Commissioners and the National Capital Planning Commission regarding the location of interstate freeways within the District, together with the increased funds resulting from the additional borrowing authority made available to the highway fund, have made it possible to provide adequate funds so that the entire freeway pro-

gram can go forward. In addition, the budget provides funds through the Council of Governments for the District's share of the expenses of the regional planning, including transportation planning, being undertaken jointly by the local governments in the National Capital region.

OTHER

The major portion of the budget is related to the programs already mentioned. Other budget proposals of particular significance include—

Funds for a major increase in sanitation services, to permit more frequent street cleaning and more efficient refuse collection.

Funds for the construction of the new central public library.

Funds to enable the public library to send books to 16,000 kindergarten children, to enlarge their horizon through the world of books. Books for these children are even more important than the books already provided by the library to children in the elementary schools and in many junior high schools.

Funds to augment the staff of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations. The services provided by the Council have been important, but much more can and should be done.

Funds for a Civil Rights Division in the Corporation Council's office.

Funds to prepare preliminary plans for two new buildings in the municipal center area. These buildings will not only provide the District with badly needed office space, but also help to carry out the long-range plans for Pennsylvania Avenue.

Funds to conduct the 1968 presidential election in the District.

CONCLUSION

This budget which I am recommending reflects the needs of local government in an increasingly urbanized society. The District is no less subject to these urgent needs than are other cities, and because in many ways it performs the function of a State as well, its responsibilities are even broader. To ignore the District's needs is to confess that the Capital City of this great Nation cannot cope with today's challenges. We must make no such confession. We must make the District of Columbia, rather, the proof that our civilization continues to secure to every citizen "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

JANUARY 25, 1967.

INCREASING PROBLEMS OF AUTO THEFT

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. KUPFERMAN] is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mr. KUPFERMAN. Mr. Speaker, a serious problem which deserves our immediate attention and that of all law enforcement agencies is auto theft.

According to the U.S. Department of Justice, auto theft is the third most frequently committed felony throughout the Nation, following only burglary and grand larceny. Moreover, I am informed

that in measurable financial loss, auto theft is second only to burglary.

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the National Automobile Theft Bureau, a half million cars were stolen in this country in 1965, a 12.5 percent increase over the figures reported for 1964. Statistics indicate that the number of auto thefts has doubled since 1955, with a continued increase expected by law enforcement officials.

The FBI reports indicate the ratio of stolen cars per 100,000 inhabitants of the United States in 1960 was 179.2. In 1965, the ratio increased to 251.0 per 100,000 people. The National Automobile Theft Bureau expects the figures for 1966 to easily pass the half-million mark. FBI figures for the first 9 months of 1966, which support this view, indicate a 10-percent rise in the occurrence over the prior year, in which a half million cars were stolen in this country.

The increasing problem of auto thefts is particularly disturbing to me because there is already such a high incidence of crime committed within the New York City area. In 1960, according to the FBI, there were 24,325 car thefts in Manhattan. In 1962, this figure jumped to 27,366, or 246.4 cars stolen per 100,000 people in the metropolitan area.

In 1964, there were 39,638 car thefts in the New York metropolitan area as contrasted with 49,228 thefts that year in all New York State. In other words, in 1964 there were 348.9 cars stolen per 100,000 people in New York City as compared with 274.8 cars stolen per 100,000 inhabitants of New York State.

It should be noted that the figures supplied to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for auto thefts prior to 1965 by the New York City Police Department are considerably less than an accurate reflection of the actual number of stolen cars. Commissioner Howard R. Leary discovered upon assuming duty as the New York City police commissioner on February 22, 1966, considerable inefficiency, and a failure by the New York City police to report all of the auto thefts which had occurred in New York City.

Thus, the more recent figures, which are the product of Commissioner Leary's commendable institution of a new system of accurately reporting and recording car thefts, indicate that 34,726 cars were stolen in New York City in 1965. Moreover, during the first 6 months of 1966, 15,459 auto thefts were reported in Manhattan alone.

The figures above have been of real concern to law enforcement officials in New York as well as to Commissioner Joel J. Tyler of the New York City Department of Licenses, and former District Attorney Nat H. Hentel, of Queens, who have been the leaders in the fight to retard the dramatic increase of auto theft in New York City.

While experience indicates that most stolen cars are eventually recovered, research shows that the average financial loss for each such recovered car is approximately \$200. In addition, millions of dollars are lost each year as a result of stolen cars which are not recovered.

Statistics from the Federal Bureau of Investigation indicate that more than 60

percent of all auto thefts are committed by youngsters under the age of 18. The all too familiar pattern experienced by law enforcement officials is that of the "joyride," where the car is stolen, used and then returned or left for the owner or police to find.

Aside from the serious consequences of an arrest, trial, and conviction of our youth, "joyriding" presents a real threat to all those who use the Nation's streets and highways. The young driver's unfamiliarity with the stolen car, together with his apprehensive state of mind and lack of pride of ownership in the vehicle serve to insure a reckless drive, thereby creating a hazard to innocent motorists.

Another problem auto theft poses, is that of the theft rings, which are composed of groups of professional thieves, usually adults, generally employing stolen cars to carry out other crimes which they have conceived. By stealing the car used to execute their crimes and then later disposing of the vehicle, criminals are able to reduce the likelihood of being apprehended.

One of the ways in which thieves are able to disguise the stolen automobile is to grind the serial numbers off the engine while at the same time repainting the car a different color so that it may be disposed of on the open market.

The difficulty with this procedure, however, is that it is time consuming, and time is a precious ingredient to the successful operation of the auto thieves ring. Also, it requires technical resources.

Therefore, a much faster and therefore safer means is generally employed by the professional auto thieves to dispose of their "hot" cars. The cars are simply shipped, trucked or driven out of the United States to be sold in a foreign country close to the United States, or in many cases, overseas.

Unfortunately, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has no figures or even estimates as to the number of stolen automobiles which are being exported each year. This is so, notwithstanding the fact that the FBI and Justice Department have been aware of the increasing problem of stolen vehicles being transported in interstate and foreign commerce for the past several years.

This method of disposition of the stolen vehicles is made considerably easier for the thieves primarily because, under present law, there is absolutely no requirement that the U.S. customs service make a check to ascertain proof of ownership of any motor vehicle being shipped, flown, trucked, or driven out of the United States, nor is it their policy to do so.

At present, the U.S. Department of Commerce, operating under the authority of the Export Control Act of 1949, as amended July 1965, authorizes the Customs Department under the U.S. Treasury, which administers the act, to file an export declaration certificate on quantities of exported goods. This declaration certificate is intended to provide statistical data to the Department of Commerce regarding amounts and descriptions of goods leaving the country, but in no way is concerned with proof of title or ownership of the goods being exported.

On the contrary, the U.S. Department of Commerce and the customs department are more concerned with goods coming into the country because of the imposition of U.S. duty on these items.

The reason the Export Control Service and Customs are generally only concerned with a statistical check on the description and amounts of goods leaving the United States may be found in the purpose of the Export Control Act itself. The Export Control Act expressly provides—50 U.S.C. 2021-2032, 63 Stat. 7, chapter 11—that it is the purpose of the United States to use export controls to the extent necessary to protect the domestic economy from the excessive drain of scarce materials and to reduce the inflationary impact of abnormal foreign demand. It further provides for export control when necessary to further the foreign policy of the United States or to exercise the necessary vigilance over exports from the standpoint of their significance to the national security.

It would seem that as long as the Customs officials and the Export Control Service under the Department of Commerce, presently require a declaration for statistical purposes as to the description and quantity of vehicles leaving the United States, they could also seek some evidence of ownership or lawful identification of any motor vehicle or motorcycle under the holders' direction or control which is about to be removed from the United States.

To require some evidence of ownership or lawful identity in addition to the routine statistical check made by Customs officials of those seeking to export vehicles at our borders would be a far less hardship than to continue to allow the felons who steal our motor vehicles and endanger our lives to rapidly and successfully complete their plans by simply removing the stolen vehicles from the country.

Accordingly, I have today introduced a bill which would provide that it shall be unlawful for any person to transport a motor vehicle or motorcycle out of the United States without first making a satisfactory showing of proof to the Secretary of Commerce regarding the ownership or lawful identification of the motor vehicle or motorcycle being exported.

Authority presently exists in most, if not all States in the United States, for law enforcement officials to request, at least upon probable cause, such proof of ownership.

Moreover, in New York State, as well as in many other States, every person operating a motor vehicle shall upon request of a law enforcement officer produce a certificate of registration for the vehicle being driven—New York Vehicle and Traffic Law, title IV, article 14, section 401(4). New York law further provides a sanction of suspension or revocation of the driver's license of any person who prevents lawful identification of any motor vehicle or motorcycle under the holders' direction or control—New York Vehicle and Traffic Law, article 20, section 510(3)(2).

Routine checks made by local and State law enforcement officials continuously turn up stolen cars which may or may not have been reported as stolen.

A similar routine check by the Federal export control authorities at Customs, when cross-checked against lists of reported stolen vehicles, could no doubt lead to the discovery of auto thefts and seriously cut down the number of stolen or "hot" vehicles presently being "dumped" outside the country.

Another way in which we can reverse the current climb in the number of auto thefts in the United States is to recognize and stop a new means employed to accomplish this crime which has recently developed with alarming speed.

I refer to the fact that thousands of car thieves are aided each year by the use of so-called master keys. Master keys are designed to fit some or all makes and models of cars and are usually ordered and sent by their manufacturers through the mail.

Indiscriminate sale of these keys allows them to fall into the hands of juveniles and professional criminals alike, and are perfect instruments to enable them quietly and quickly to steal a car and to remove its contents or valuable parts, such as engines and radios, without being discovered.

New York State Senator Simon J. Liebowitz expressed concern over the growing menace to life and property from auto thefts by the use of master keys during a recent hearing of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization on the subject of traffic safety. State Senator Liebowitz pointed out that inasmuch as these keys are ordered and sent through the mail there is no way a single State can effectively prohibit their purchase and receipt by one of its residents.

Senators JACOB K. JAVITS, ROBERT KENNEDY, and ABRAHAM RIBICOFF have recognized the master key problem as a serious one and introduced in the Senate during the second session of the 89th Congress a bill, S. 3176, designed to deal with the problem of master keys.

In discussing the master key problem in the July 1966 issue of *Popular Mechanics*, Senator RIBICOFF said:

While some key manufacturers conscientiously try to confine their sales to legitimate users, others make no attempt whatever, and do, in fact, solicit business—by mail and advertising—from anyone who'll pay their price.

Senator RIBICOFF said the number of auto thefts has jumped 20 percent in the last 2 years and, that if the trend continues, more than a million cars will be stolen every year by 1970—one every 30 seconds.

With the exception of large-scale auto theft operations in which the thieves tow or truck the car away, the majority of automobile thefts are accomplished by starting the engine and driving the vehicle away. The emphasis should be, therefore, upon restricting the ease with which this can be done.

By stopping unauthorized master key traffic and usage, and by encouraging manufacturers voluntarily to take steps to improve car design by adding the small items necessary to automobiles being manufactured, and, thereby insuring more "theft proof" qualities, millions of dollars and numbers of lives could be saved.

A simple preventive measure which car manufacturers could adopt would be to place a lock on the hood latch of the automobile and cause it to operate from inside the car rather than continue to manufacture the simple opening devices presently being designed to operate from under the hood on the outside front of most cars.

I would strongly urge our Nation's automobile industry to cooperate in, which I hope will be, a massive national effort to reduce auto thefts. One way in which they could help would be voluntarily to improve the lock mechanisms of the ignition of the automobiles so that they will be more difficult to pick.

Another method would be to make it more difficult to obtain master keys. To accomplish this, I have today introduced legislation which would prohibit the interstate mailing of master keys to all unauthorized individuals or groups by making it a Federal offense to use the mails to sell master keys except for legitimate uses.

There is a particular need for such legislation in order to take away the incentive which master keys presently provide for teenagers to take joy rides. According to Senator RIBICOFF, the frequency of auto thefts by teenagers runs to 92 percent in some areas.

Moreover, the National Auto Theft Bureau, which has gone on record as violently opposing the indiscriminate sale of master keys as potential burglar tools, reports that nationwide more than 60 percent of juvenile crimes are auto thefts.

I believe it is imperative that the Federal Government take action now to come to the aid of local and State law enforcement officials in their struggle to effectively deal with the growing menace of auto theft.

Assistant Attorney General Fred M. Vinson, Jr., recently told the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency that the Justice Department already has conferred with the representatives of the major car building firms in an effort to see that devices are built in or added to newly manufactured cars in order to make them more difficult to steal.

Assistant Attorney General Vinson said that the Government might take the mandatory course if manufacturers did not act voluntarily—to add the necessary theftproof devices. Mr. Vinson stated that the Government wants the automobile manufacturers to adopt "feasible and effective devices at the earliest practical date."

Unfortunately, the administration has not undertaken realistic action in an effort to solve the problem. Requirement of theftproof devices on newly manufactured automobiles is only one small step toward its solution. The fastest and easiest way to dispose of "hot" cars already in use is simply to ship them out of the United States for sale in a neighboring country or overseas. We cannot afford to wait in dealing with this problem until newly manufactured domestic automobiles are uniformly built with theftproof devices.

I strongly urge this body to consider legislation along the lines I have intro-

duced today, which would provide a legal check on the ownership or lawful identification of motor vehicles or motorcycles being exported. It is only through comprehensive auto theft legislation dealing with the problem as a whole that the tragic advance in auto theft figures can be halted. We must take positive steps toward this end now.

There follows a statement by Michael J. Murphy, president of the National Automobile Theft Bureau, at the public hearing on auto theft recently held by the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency. Mr. Murphy is a former police commissioner of the city of New York and served in that capacity during the period when I was a member of the New York City Council.

STATEMENT BY MICHAEL J. MURPHY, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL AUTOMOBILE THEFT BUREAU, AT THE PUBLIC HEARING ON AUTO THEFT HELD BY U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

My name is Michael J. Murphy. I am president of the National Automobile Theft Bureau—a service organization that traces its history back to 1912 when the 11 insurance companies then writing automobile insurance formed an association to assemble and disseminate reports on stolen cars. Today nearly 400 insurance companies support the NATB in its efforts to assist law enforcement officials in identification and recovery of stolen vehicles. The Bureau also investigates automobile arson and has been responsible for the break up of numerous and extensive auto theft rings in every corner of the nation. It maintains five division offices—in New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, and San Francisco—and maintains a network of resident agents throughout the country and in Mexico and Canada.

In addition to investigations, the NATB conducts training seminars on auto theft detection and prevention techniques for police departments. Also in the realm of prevention, we conduct an extensive public information campaign in an attempt to reduce auto thefts. The NATB is a voluntary, non-profit association. Any insurance company in good standing, whether stock or non-stock, engaged in motor vehicle insurance is eligible for membership. Member companies finance NATB activities through assessment on the net automobile fire and theft premiums written by the individual company.

Gentlemen, I appreciate the opportunity to speak to you today on the subject of auto theft. Each day the problem grows more acute. Every year the auto theft rate increases faster than either the number of vehicles manufactured or the population.

Despite the fact that nearly nine out of every ten stolen cars are recovered through NATB and police operations, this crime continues to cost the public and the insurance industry more than half a billion dollars each year. In fact, it is the nation's costliest crime against property. Final figures are not yet in, but we expect the 1966 auto theft figure to easily pass the half-million mark. FBI figures for the first nine months of 1966 indicated a 10 per cent jump in the number of auto thefts.

These figures sound bad—and they are. But these cold facts, awesome as they are—don't add up to the one, overriding concern of those of us familiar with the auto theft problem. It is a young man's crime.

According to the Uniform Crime Reports compiled by the FBI the highest arrest rate for auto theft is for persons in the 15 to 19 age group. The most recent figures we have show offenders under the age of 18 account for 64 per cent of all auto theft arrests while

persons under the age of 25 are responsible for 89 percent of the total arrests. Compounding the problem is the fact that where the auto thief is under age 18, in most cases the crime involves other youths.

More and more cars are being stolen by youths for the souped-up engines, expensive transmission and fancy bucket seats. Although the auto may be recovered later, and nearly nine out of ten stolen cars are recovered, an increasing number are found stripped with the loss running into hundreds of dollars.

The problem is not a simple one nor is the solution. A number of suggestions which we think would improve the theft situation—such as adoption of the Certificate of Title provisions of the Uniform Vehicle Code and the enactment and enforcement of local lock your car ordinances—properly come under state jurisdiction. Others, perhaps, could be most effectively felt on a national level.

MASTER KEYS

A problem that we encounter with increasing frequency is that of Master Keys. Mail order master key firms in such states as Pennsylvania, Maryland, Florida and California solicit business by direct mail and through advertisements in national magazines. The ads state that the sets are for legitimate use only, but we have found that nearly any one can obtain complete sets with ease. Members of the NATB staff, in fact, in an experiment ordered such sets from home addresses on plain stationery. Our orders were filled without question. We have no figures to support our contention that a growing number of car thieves are also among the customers, but our agents and police with whom we work point to a rising number of stolen cars recovered which show no signs of forcible entry, an increasing number of cars stolen from once comparatively safe parking lots and garages, and frequent arrest of persons in possession of master keys.

The NATB fully supports state legislation outlawing sale of master keys except to legitimate agencies. As far as I know only Texas, Oregon, Massachusetts and Michigan have incorporated such laws on their books. But even if most states had laws forbidding the sale of master keys, the U.S. mails could still be used to buy them and states would be powerless to stop it. We are, therefore, especially hopeful legislation outlawing indiscriminate sale of master keys in interstate commerce will be re-introduced and passed in Congress. Interrelated federal and state laws making it illegal to sell, possess or receive master keys unless they are for legitimate users is the key to halting the growing master key problem.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

There is a moral aspect to the leaving of cars unlocked. Often the very fact that the keys are in the ignition provides a temptation to young people which is very difficult for them to resist. In my experience over many years as a law enforcement officer, I have read thousands and thousands of criminal records, and invariably in the early stages of a criminal career there is an arrest and conviction for the crime of auto theft. I believe that we owe it to young people to prevent the occurrence of this indiscriminate temptation.

Our greatest task is to eliminate the major reason making car theft possible—especially among teenagers—the unlocked car. In a recent survey the FBI reported at least 42 per cent of the cars stolen had been left with keys in the ignition. From 80 to 85 per cent of the cars stolen had been left unlocked.

Significantly, it is the unlocked car with key still in ignition that accounts for many a teenage theft. A teenager steals on the spur of the moment. And an unlocked car is an open invitation.

A substantial reduction in the number of auto thefts could be made by a campaign of education addressed to the public concerning the necessity for locking motor vehicles. Public awareness of this fact could substantially reduce auto theft. In our experience in more than 130 cities, including San Francisco, Dallas, Houston and Chicago, it has been shown that concerted campaigns calling this to the public's attention have substantially reduced the incidence of auto theft. The NATB is ready to cooperate with any law enforcement agency or motor vehicle bureau in the mounting of such a campaign.

The value of these Lock Your Car campaigns has been recognized by chiefs of police and other officials throughout the nation. The latest development is a National Automobile Theft Prevention Campaign which is planned for the Spring of this year. The Department of Justice is coordinating this effort with the cooperation of several national organizations—including ours.

TEENAGE EDUCATION

In a related matter it is suggested, if it is not already being done, that part of the federally approved curriculum for driver education in high schools should include information concerning proper security measures to prevent the loss of the vehicle which is being operated by the student either at school or after his graduation.

It is my understanding that federally aided highway programs are now contingent on inclusion of an approved driver education program. These courses should also emphasize the serious nature of a crime that could jeopardize a youngster's entire life. It is impossible to overemphasize the fatal consequences to the career of a young person who has been associated with auto theft.

MANUFACTURING IMPROVEMENTS

I might point out that we have been successful in recent years in working with automobile manufacturers to reduce car thefts by making it as difficult as possible for the thief to enter, start, or drive away the vehicle.

Beginning with 1965 models, General Motors Corporation has modified Chevrolet and Buick ignition systems to make it impossible for the key to be removed without locking the ignition. These cars were especially vulnerable to theft prior to this change. Separate keys and locks were also provided for the ignition and the trunk.

Ford Motor Company has redesigned all locks beginning with 1965 models to provide production tumblers at both top and bottom of ignition assembly. The new lock requires a key cut on both edges, making it difficult to open the lock with a "jiggler key"—a technique used successfully by thieves on earlier Ford locks.

Over the years, the NATB has helped the automobile industry develop a voluntary system of confidential numbering of vehicles—usually including high-performance engines and transmissions—for tracing and identification purposes. While we wholeheartedly endorse this system and are working for its expansion, we also believe that it must be voluntary. We feel that any type of local, state or federal legislation relating to this system of secret numbering would jeopardize the very program such legislation would presumably be intended to insure.

RESEARCH

Throughout my testimony one tremendous lack may have become increasingly apparent—the lack of information on those who commit the crime of auto theft and the methods they use. The FBI keeps auto theft statistics. And we know from experience that it is predominantly a teenage crime, that master keys are often involved, that it is a crime of opportunity and often is the first step in a career of crime. But we know this only from experience. The NATB could do no greater service for our clients than to

undertake a countrywide study of the problem. But, unfortunately, financing such a study is far beyond the realm of our organization. I feel very strongly, however, that much of our effort toward stemming the constantly growing problem of the nation's costliest crime against property—auto theft—will be wasted until a comprehensive study is undertaken.

CONCLUSION

We of the NATB keep three important objectives in mind while working at our daily job of stolen automobile recovery:

1. an educational program aimed at the general public, to make them aware of the problem, but mainly to get them to lock their cars,
2. an educational program aimed at teenagers, and
3. toughening of laws against auto theft.

I suggest that the true problem of automobile theft is—with few exceptions—that few people recognize it for the real and pressing problem that it is. Most authorities are in agreement on this: the car thief's closest ally is the car owner himself, for it is he who leaves the doors unlocked, the windows ajar, the keys in the ignition, or the vehicle itself parked in an unlighted, mostly deserted area.

Effective control of auto theft is a many-faceted problem demanding close cooperation among many interested groups. Experience of the past demonstrates the need for a stronger, more vigorous approach—a few new laws and stricter enforcement of the ones we have, as well as a strong and effective public information program.

Projections based on present trends indicate that almost one million cars will be stolen in the United States in 1970. Based on current averages the total value will be a staggering \$872,608,275.

It is essential that every effort be made to prevent such huge losses which are not only staggering from an economic view point but represent a turn to crime by large numbers of our most precious asset—our young people.

CLAIM OF DR. SOLOMON S. LEVADI

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, in 1965 I introduced a bill, H.R. 3557, to confer jurisdiction upon the U.S. Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Dr. Solomon S. Levadi. The House passed the bill on August 2, 1966, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary reported the measure, but the bill failed to reach the Senate floor during the closing days of the Congress. I believe that Dr. Levadi is entitled to pursue his claim for a service-connected disability, and am reintroducing the bill with the hope of speedy action by both the House and Senate.

POLICE DEPARTMENT OF THE VILLAGE OF PALATINE, ILL.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. RUMSFELD] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to

the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I am reintroducing a bill today which, if enacted, will resolve a serious burden currently placed on the members of the police department of the village of Palatine, Ill.

Because of the growth of the community, the members of the police department now find themselves subject to both the State police pension fund and the Social Security Act. This situation arose through a quirk in timing and has been described by the village attorney as follows:

Because of unusual timing, the double coverage of the Palatine Police Department is considered a unique position in the State of Illinois. Neither the corporate authorities, nor the policemen themselves, desire this double coverage. There appears to be no way to escape the operation of the state-required Police Pension Fund contributions and coverage. Because of Palatine's present population, the application of the Police Pension statute is mandatory. Municipalities with a Police Pension set-up are not required to assume Social Security coverage.

Mr. Speaker, as I noted last year, if the village had attained its population growth before social security coverage was first extended to the village, the problem would not have arisen. Since the only relief in sight appears to be amendment of the Social Security Act, I ask favorable consideration of this bill by the Congress.

EDITORIAL FROM THE BRISTOL, VA.-TENN., HERALD COURIER COMMENDS REPRESENTATIVE QUILLEN FOR HIS RESOLUTION TO ESTABLISH A SELECT COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS AND CONDUCT

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. QUILLEN] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely pleased with the reaction in my district over the resolution that I introduced last week, along with several of my colleagues, to establish a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct.

I would like to call to the attention of all the Members of the House the following editorial which appeared in Sunday's edition of the Bristol, Tenn.-Va. Herald Courier, and in so doing, I again urge those of you who have not yet considered this resolution to join in this endeavor by not only introducing your own resolution but also seeking immediate action on it.

I think I should point out that my resolution makes a slight, but I feel very important, change from the one introduced by my colleagues. To safeguard the person against whom the indiscretions are claimed, I believe that any charge must be made in person to the chairman of the select committee, and,

of course, under oath, rather than in writing.

I offer this editorial, as well as a copy of my resolution, for your consideration:

A GOOD PROPOSAL

The House of Representatives, if it is to protect itself against the excesses of its own members, will have to establish a Select Committee of the sort recommended by Rep. James H. Quillen of Tennessee's First District.

He has introduced a resolution calling for establishment of a permanent committee similar to the temporary committee now investigating the shenanigans of one Adam Clayton Powell. This is not the first time Rep. Quillen has urged such action. But it has more going for it now, since Mr. Powell has so brazenly forced the issue with his own misconduct.

Under Rep. Quillen's proposal, the permanent Select Committee would be empowered to investigate misconduct on the part of congressmen when specific charges are made—and only then. Consequently, it would not be a "witch hunting" committee, nor would it lend itself readily to political manipulation.

In practice, the committee probably would have very little investigating to do. Fortunately, there are not many Adam Clayton Powells in Congress, though certainly there are many members of that body who are not exactly lily white.

Sadly, power does indeed tend to corrupt, and absolute power does indeed tend to corrupt absolutely. Honest men have too often been tempted by the rewards of personal gain—and have succumbed.

The very existence of a permanent Select Committee, however, would serve as something of a deterrent. It would be a constant reminder to all congressmen that their misdeeds are subject to immediate investigation. And, being reminded, most congressmen would not be so easily led into indiscretions.

There are rules and laws which govern the conduct of elected officials. In the case of Congress, however, the members constitute their own judge and jury, and possibly there are too many glass houses to permit much brick throwing.

But something has to be done to prevent a recurrence of the Adam Clayton Powell case. And something has to be done to ferret out others who already have overstepped the bounds of propriety.

Only by admitting the problem and taking steps to correct it can Congress hope to maintain the confidence of the American people. Those of the House who want to appear before their constituents with clean hands would do well to join Rep. Quillen in seeking establishment of a Select Committee.

It is not enough for one congressman to say, "I'm four-square." He also must do what he can to insure that other members of the Congress also are "foursquare" and remain so. For if Congress, as we are so often told, is the sole judge of its own membership, then every member must bear some of the blame for misconduct on the part of a single congressman.

Rep. Quillen has made a good proposal. We hope Congress will agree and give his resolution the approval it deserves.

H. RES. 133

Resolved, That (a) there is hereby established a select committee of the House of Representatives to be known as the Select Committee on Standards and Conduct (hereafter in this resolution referred to as the "select committee"). The select committee shall be composed of twelve Members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Six members of the select committee shall be selected from members of

the majority party and six shall be selected from members of the minority party.

(b) Vacancies in the membership of the select committee shall not affect the authority of the remaining members to execute the functions of the select committee, and shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointments were made.

(c) A majority of the members of the Select Committee shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, except that the select committee may fix a lesser number as a quorum for the purpose of taking sworn testimony. The select committee shall adopt rules of procedure not inconsistent with the rules of the House governing standing committees of the House.

SEC. 2. (a) The select committee is authorized—

(1) to recommend to the House, by report or resolution, such additional rules or regulations as the select committee shall determine to be necessary or desirable to insure proper standards of conduct by Members of the House, and by officers or employees of the House, in the performance of their duties and the discharge of their responsibilities; and

(2) to report violations, by a majority vote of the select committee, of any law to the proper Federal and State authorities.

(b) The select committee shall have power to make an investigation of any violation by a Member, officer, or employee of the House, of standards of conduct established by the House of Representatives by law or resolution, including those standards provided in title 18, United States Code, and in the concurrent resolution passed July 11, 1958 (72 Stat. B12). Such an investigation may be made only upon receipt by the select committee of a complaint, in person and under oath, made by or to a Member of the House and transmitted to the select committee by such Member. No investigation may be made with reference to any complaint of a violation occurring prior to the establishment of the standards of conduct involved. After such investigation the select committee may recommend to the House appropriate resolutions of censure for its consideration and action thereon.

SEC. 3. For the purpose of carrying out this resolution the select committee or any subcommittee thereof is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is in session, has recessed, or adjourned, to hold such hearings, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, records, correspondence, and documents, as it deems necessary. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the select committee or any member designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member. The chairman of the select committee or any member thereof may administer oaths to witnesses.

SEC. 4. As used in this resolution—

(1) the term "officer or employee of the House" means any person whose compensation is disbursed by the Clerk of the House; and

(2) the term "Member of the House of Representatives" includes the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico.

TOM MBOYA OUTLINES ROLE OF AFRICAN YOUTH IN BUILDING A MODERN AFRICA

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called by the Honorable J. Wayne Fredericks, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, to an interesting and inspiring speech on the role of youth in Africa by the distinguished and universally esteemed Hon. Tom Mboya, of Kenya.

This speech was delivered this week in Nairobi. It is a statement by one of the great leaders in Africa of the role of African youth in the building of a modern and prosperous Africa, and as such I deem it worthy of full reporting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I include a news release incorporating his statement along with his remarks:

"The youth of the world had an inevitable role to perform, for in their hands lay the destiny of millions of people. In particular, the challenge of the development of Africa rested squarely on the shoulders of the younger generation," Kenya's Minister for Economic Planning and Development, Mr. Mboya, told the 12th International students conference in Nairobi.

Pointing out that Africa urgently needed her own experts, the Minister said a university was not just a place for passing resolutions, but a place where young men and women were trained to make the world a better place to live in.

"Let me give you a challenge," Mr. Mboya said. "Look at our forests, our deserts, look at our land, our lakes, our seas. All of these have hidden or potential resources. In order to exploit what they hold we urgently need trained and dedicated manpower. We need ideas, plans, programmes and proposals."

The Minister said that when an African country wanted to carry out a feasibility survey for an economic project it was forced to find overseas experts to do the job. These experts came from the same countries which controlled capital resources and would say whether investment in a given project was wise, from their own point of view. "Decisions and proposals must be made within the context of our own people. We need to be freed from subservience, from this continuing dependence on outsiders," Mr. Mboya said.

The Minister went on: "In the energy and dynamism, the impatience and directness of youth, there is a danger that energy and brainpower may be too often diverted into unproductive channels."

"I am emotionally involved like you in world problems of right and wrong. I, too, am angry and aroused by the evils of apartheid and discrimination, by the inhumanity of totalitarian regimes, by the continuing inhumanity and exploitation by man of his fellows. These are matters which must concern and arouse all of us."

"In other countries men discovered electricity, steam engines, aeroplanes. African deserts, forests, water and land await the miracle to be worked by the hands and brains of its own sons. I regard this as our prime challenge."

"I have seen little concern in reports of your meetings and deliberations, with this sort of immediate and practical problem. I had hoped to see that vital matters of this kind would figure positively at the conference."

"It is natural to feel intensely about the large issues which concern mankind. From bitter experience and often from mistakes, I have learnt the need for a restraint when the heart was for hasty action. I have found how often caution pays off. I have experienced the advisability of suppressing emotion and the desire to display commitment in the rewarding task of advancing to real achieve-

ments in the implementation of one's principles and beliefs."

"Most certainly our countries need the dynamism, the dedication and the single-mindedness of youth. Yet equally we must temper and guide our energies by the exercise of caution, wisdom, foresight and experience. Without the tempering of the emotional approach, without the careful mingling of cool calculation with youthful dynamism, we might find ourselves confronted with new problems instead of solving the existing ones."

"The challenge of the development of Africa rests squarely on the shoulders of the younger generation who are the agents of economic and social development. How many of your contemporaries in the universities of the older countries have such opportunities and such challenges as those which face those of the developing nations? They must wait a decade to achieve the sort of jobs you will move straight into."

"Some of you from Africa will be permanent secretaries or heads of departments within two or three years. In the older countries a man of great ability may work his way up for 30 years before achieving such a distinguished office. Some of you will go out to be district officers right away and within a few years carry the responsibility of whole districts."

"Others will go from university straight to high executive positions in national corporations, often establishing such institutions from the start and laying down their pattern for the future."

"You will face responsibility and great challenges the moment you walk out of university into your first job. You will often not have a body of older and more experienced people above to help and make mistakes and they can be corrected by those with more experience."

"In Africa, the educated man, even if he is straight from university, is expected to know he is looked up to by those without the privilege of education as one who does not make mistakes. The responsibility of the student in Africa is so much greater. Students must take a fresh look at their role. The student is supposed to be studying hard, searching for the truth. He must be a person of courage and initiative. It is not enough for him to shout old slogans and to repeat old phrases."

"Neither the Eastern nor the Western bloc is as monolithic as it was. Major conflicts have developed among the Communist states and many are adopting political practices and economic measures which they once condemned. The face of capitalism is changing, too, and who can say today that the Western World are purely capitalist in the old sense?"

"We must beware lest our young people (and perhaps some older ones) become confused and led astray in this intellectual and ideological ferment."

"We must grasp the challenge of the modern world. We in Africa must not blindly follow others but must experiment, with our own forms and institutions, our own ways and methods."

UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE AND A SPECIAL HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include a resolution and extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on this matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, on this 49th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine it is most important for all Americans to recognize the interrelationships between the captive nations of Eastern Europe and the war against Red imperialism in Vietnam. Russian material aid to the Red totalitarian regime in Hanoi comes in the last analysis from the sweat and toil of the captive nations in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe generally. The plight of 17 million captive North Vietnamese is substantially no different from that of 43 million captive Ukrainians or the millions of other captive peoples in Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America. As freedom is indivisible, so is Red totalitarian tyranny indivisible, despite all the superficial changes in the Red empire.

UKRAINE'S PUPPET IN THE U.N.

Before elaborating on the enormous significance of this anniversary, I should like to point out one of the most comical aspects of our period.

The chairman of the Ukrainian S.S.R. delegation to the U.N. lamented in his maiden speech in 1965 that we in Congress observe the real Ukrainian independence that was destroyed by Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism over 45 years ago. This puppet had the gall to say:

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a sovereign and free nation in the great brotherly family of Soviet Republics.

Using an old imperialist Russian theme song, he further insulted the intelligence of his audience by blurring:

Our Government and our people consider the acts of some American circles as interference in the domestic affairs of the Ukrainian nation.

In October 1966, his successor in the U.N. used practically the same language, deprecating our free observance of a once free people in their state of independence.

It is obvious that these poor puppets and their Moscow masters do not want us to bring the truths of Ukraine's miserable captivity to the attention of our own people and the world. These truths hurt them in their efforts to enlarge the Red totalitarian empire. It is our moral and political obligation to drive these truths home in every corner of the earth, for without a captive Ukraine the artificial edifice of the U.S.S.R. would topple like a stack of cards. Moscow knows this, but many free governments have yet to learn to appreciate this fundamental truth.

OCCASION FOR HOUSE RESOLUTION 14

On this significant occasion of the 49th anniversary of Ukraine's independence, I deem it necessary to go beyond the realm of sincere expressions of thought and feelings by advancing a concrete proposal that would aid immensely in the

eventual liberation of Ukraine—indeed, all other captive nations—from the impericcolonialists' heel of Moscow.

I know that by offering the adoption of House Resolution 14, a measure to establish a desperately needed special House Committee on the Captive Nations, my proposal for specific and concrete action bespeaks also the desires of numerous Members of this body, who in the 87th Congress, in the 88th Congress, in the 89th, and in the present 90th Congress have joined in submitting similar resolutions.

This congressional observance of Ukrainian independence affords us the excellent opportunity in this Congress to urge the necessary creation of this special committee.

Mr. Speaker, in a move which I believe touches the heart of every Ukrainian patriot—in fact, the hearts of all our captive allies in the Red totalitarian empire—I take this important occasion to urge the immediate adoption of House Resolution 14, a copy of which will be found at the end of my remarks.

THIS 49TH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. Speaker, the national histories of East European peoples are full of miseries and misfortunes, and the history of the Ukrainian people is no exception. Since the signing of a compact between the Russian Czar and the Ukrainian leaders in 1654, stouthearted and liberty-loving Ukrainians have not been allowed, except for periods in the 18th century and the brief 2-year period of 1918–20, to enjoy the benefits of free and independent life in their historic homeland.

Through the turns and twists of fateful international events, some 45 million Ukrainians have not been permitted to be masters of their fate. For too long a period they have been held down under the oppressing yoke of alien despots. They have endured hardships, privations, and indescribable miseries. They have been ruthlessly persecuted for clinging to their national ideals, for dreaming and cherishing their independence and freedom.

Yet, no oppressive measure, no amount of severe persecution could compel them to abandon their yearning for freedom. Instead, oppressions and persecutions have united the Ukrainians against their foes, held them together. Then toward the end of the First World War, when the decrepit czarist regime was overthrown, and Austria's hold over the western Ukraine was broken, the Ukrainians proclaimed their independence and established the Ukrainian National Republic.

This historic event took place on the memorable 22d of January 1918—49 years ago. That day has become a landmark in the history of Ukraine, and remains the brightest spot in their struggle for freedom and independence. Unfortunately, the newborn Republic was suffering under severe handicaps. It was surrounded by powerful foes, ready to pounce upon it and put an end to its existence. And that is what happened even before the joy and jubilation had ceased.

Before the Ukrainian people had any time to recoup their losses, they were attacked by their inveterate foes, Moscow and its Red army. Early in 1920 enemy forces entered and occupied the eastern

part of the country; soon the whole country was overrun and all Ukrainian opposition was ruthlessly crushed. Then in the fall of that year Ukraine became a satellite of Soviet Russia, and by 1923 it was forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Since those fateful days, for nearly five decades, Ukraine has been submerged in the Soviet Russian Empire, and the Ukrainian people have suffered grievously under Moscow's totalitarianism. For all practical purposes the country is sealed off from the free world. Neither the people of Ukraine are allowed in large numbers to travel abroad, nor are the people of the free world, except under carefully guided Communist supervision, to go to Ukraine.

Thus, the country has become a large prison-house for its people. Their most cherished possession is their spirit of freedom. Inhuman Kremlin agents have resorted to every device to deprive the Ukrainian people of this possession, but fortunately they have not succeeded in their task. Today, even under the most relentless of Soviet Russian totalitarian tyrannies, the sturdy and stout-hearted Ukrainian clings steadfastly to his national ideals and still preserves his fervent love for freedom and independence.

The Ukrainian people, in and out of their homeland, have been a boom to the communities in which they lived. In this country they have been noted for their industry, ingenuity, and tenacity for hard work in whatever vocation. They have never shunned heavy labor in preference to something less arduous. In this respect their tough and resilient physiques, and their tenacious nature have served them well.

Hundreds of thousands of loyal, patriotic, and hardworking Americans of Ukrainian origin have always given excellent accounts of themselves in this country. I can say this because I have known many of them in my congressional district, and have seen them at work. These people of solid character have contributed their full measure to the free and democratic way of life in this great Republic. They have been a positive force in the building of our democratic institutions, and they have always been ready to fight and die for the preservation of these institutions.

Today, on this solemn occasion, I am happy to join them in the celebration of the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day.

Mr. Speaker, in addition to the copy of the text of House Resolution 14, heretofore referred to, as part of my remarks today I would like to include the following:

A letter I received, dated January 16, 1967, from Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University, who is the national president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc.;

The text of an address delivered by our colleague from New York, the Honorable LEONARD FARBSTEIN, upon receiving the Shevchenko Freedom Award on October 8, 1966;

Remarks delivered in New York City last October 8 by the Honorable Liu Chieh, permanent representative of Nationalist China to the United Nations;

And, remarks of the Honorable Nguen Duy Lien, permanent observer of the Republic of Vietnam to the United Nations at the Ninth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent last October 8 in New York City.

The material referred to follows:

H. RES. 14

Whereas on the all-important issue of colonialism the blatant hypocrisy of imperialist Moscow has not been adequately exposed by us in the United Nations and elsewhere; and

Whereas Presidential proclamations designating Captive Nations Week summon the American people "to study the plight of the Soviet-dominated nations and to recommit themselves to the support of the just aspirations of the people of those captive nations"; and

Whereas the nationwide observances in the seven anniversaries of Captive Nations Week have clearly demonstrated the enthusiastic response of major sections of our society to this Presidential call; and

Whereas following the passage of the Captive Nations Week resolution in 1959 by the Congress of the United States and again during the annual observances of Captive Nations Week, Moscow has consistently displayed to the world its profound fear of growing free world knowledge of and interest in all of the captive nations, and particularly the occupied non-Russian colonies within the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the indispensable advancement of such basic knowledge and interest alone can serve to explode current myths on Soviet unity, Soviet national economy and monolithic military prowess and openly to expose the depths of imperialist totalitarianism and economic colonialism throughout the Red Russian Empire, especially inside the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and

Whereas, for example, it was not generally recognized, and thus not advantageously made use of, that in point of geography, history, and demography, the now famous U-2 plane flew mostly over captive non-Russian territories in the Soviet Union; and

Whereas in the fundamental conviction that the central issue of our times is imperialist totalitarian slavery versus democratic national freedom, we commence to win the psychopolitical cold war by assembling and forthrightly utilizing all the truths and facts pertaining to the enslaved condition of the peoples of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, Cuba, and other subjugated nations; and

Whereas the enlightening forces generated by such knowledge and understanding of the fate of these occupied and captive non-Russian nations would also give encouragement to latent liberal elements in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic—which contains Russia itself—and would help bring to the oppressed Russian people their overdue independence from centuries-long authoritarian rule and tyranny; and

Whereas these weapons of truth, fact, and ideas would counter effectively and overwhelm and defeat Moscow's worldwide propaganda campaign in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and specifically among the newly independent and underdeveloped nations and states; and

Whereas it is incumbent upon us as free citizens to appreciatively recognize that the captive nations in the aggregate constitute not only a primary deterrent against a hot global war and further overt aggression by Moscow's totalitarian imperialism, but also a prime positive means for the advance of

world freedom in a struggle which in totalitarian form in psychopolitical; and

Whereas in pursuit of a diplomacy of truth we cannot for long avoid bringing into question Moscow's legalistic pretensions of "non-interference in the internal affairs of states" and other contrivances which are acutely subject to examination under the light of morally founded legal principles and political, economic, and historical evidence; and

Whereas in the implementing spirit of our own congressional Captive Nations Week resolution and the eight Presidential proclamations it is in our own strategic interest and that of the nontotalitarian free world to undertake a continuous and unremitting study of all the captive nations for the purpose of developing new approaches and fresh ideas for victory in the psychopolitical cold war: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That there is hereby established a nonpermanent committee which shall be known as the Special Committee on the Captive Nations. The committee shall be composed of ten Members of the House, of whom not more than six shall be members of the same political party, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. (a) Vacancies in the membership of the committee shall not affect the power of the remaining members to execute the functions of the committee, and shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection.

(b) The committee shall select a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members. In the absence of the chairman, the vice chairman shall act as chairman.

(c) A majority of the committee shall constitute a quorum except that a lesser number, to be fixed by the committee, shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of administering oaths and taking sworn testimony.

Sec. 3. (a) The committee shall conduct an inquiry into and a study of all the captive non-Russian nations, which includes those in the Soviet Union and Asia, and also of the Russian people, with particular reference to the moral and legal status of Red totalitarian control over them, facts concerning conditions existing in these nations, and means by which the United States can assist them by peaceful processes in their present plight and in their aspiration to regain their national and individual freedoms.

(b) The committee shall make such interim reports to the House of Representatives as it deems proper, and shall make its first comprehensive report of the results of its inquiry and study, together with its recommendations, not later than January 31, 1968.

Sec. 4. The committee, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such places and times within or outside the United States to hold such hearings, to require by subpoena or otherwise the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, to administer such oaths, and to take such testimony as it deems advisable.

Sec. 5. The committee may employ and fix the compensation of such experts, consultants, and other employees as it deems necessary in the performance of its duties.

Sec. 6. The committee shall enjoy a non-standing status, performing its duties in the course of the Ninetieth Congress and subject to renewal only as determined by needs in the completion of its work and further purposes of the House of Representatives.

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE
OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N.Y., January 16, 1967.

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. FLOOD: This January 22 marks the 49th Anniversary of Ukraine's Independ-

ence. On this date in 1918, the Ukrainian nation, now comprising 45 million people and surviving as the largest captive non-Russian nation both in the USSR and Eastern Europe, declared its independence in the tradition of our own American Revolution. Unaided, scarcely understood, and alone, the new state became by 1920 one of the first victims of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism which had been given birth by the Russian Bolshevik revolution in 1917.

On this occasion your free voice is needed more than ever before. Clearly, there would be no Vietnam crisis today if Ukraine and others were supported then against the first wave of Soviet Russian conquest. We ask you to join millions of other Americans to celebrate this historic event with expressions on the floor of Congress and in the Record, thus building a real and sincere bridge of understanding with the captive people of Ukraine. Your expression, before or after the 22d, will be heard by them.

Why the importance of this anniversary and what can we do beyond this? In his 1966 State of the Union Message, the President declared, "The fifth and most important principle of our foreign policy is support of national independence—the right of each people to govern themselves and to shape their own institutions . . . We follow this principle by encouraging the end of colonial rule." This is commendably stated, but the measures proposed and the omissions committed have blatantly contradicted the principle in application to Ukraine and other non-Russian nations in the USSR, where Russian colonial rule is the worst.

In the Cold War, in Vietnam, our chief enemy is Russia, not Red China or anyone else. We urge you to consider (1) support of a resolution for a Great Debate on US-USSR policy, which we have never had in Congress (an analysis will be sent you shortly), (2) open and fair hearings on the US-USSR Consular Convention, (3) a poltrade policy toward the Red Empire, (4) a Special Committee on Captive Nations and (5) early exposure of the fraudulent Russian Bolshevik Revolution and its 50th anniversary this year by supporting the 49th anniversaries of Ukraine and others this year.

With grateful thanks for your devotion to freedom—everywhere,

Sincerely,

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY,
Georgetown University.

SPIRIT THAT WILL NEVER DIE

(Remarks of the Hon. Leonard Farbstein, member of the U.S. Congress, upon receiving the Shevchenko Freedom Award during the Ninth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, in New York, October 8, 1936)

I want to thank all of you tonight for presenting me with the Shevchenko Freedom Award. Any award that bears the name of "freedom" honors its recipient. You award—because it represents a dream of freedom that is so tenacious, yet so distant—is particularly precious. It is a great compliment to me that you have chosen me for this freedom award. It will remain as a pinnacle of my public life.

If I have earned the honor which you have bestowed on me, it is, I am sure, because I am—like all of you—part of a heritage in which freedom has too often been a yearning, and a dream, rather than a reality.

The Jewish people, like the Ukrainian people, have throughout too much of their history found themselves the victim of some mighty outside oppression. They have fought for their freedom and died for it. They have planned for it and prayed for it. For centuries it remained with them in spirit, when physically they had no freedom at all. This was the heritage in which I was raised and which I understand. It is a heritage

which parallels yours. That is why, I think, we feel so comfortable with each other. We both understand what it means to aspire to freedom.

At this very moment, the Soviet Union is tyrannizing your people and mine. It seeks them out for persecution. It denies them their religion. It deprives them of their national identity. It imposes upon them a grim Communist conformity that violates our deep instincts for liberty. The Communists think they will succeed in stamping out both Jewish and Ukrainian feelings of community distinction. We know they will not succeed.

The long and often painful history of both our peoples tells us that oppression only strengthens the will. Whatever the Kremlin chooses to do, Ukrainians will remain Ukrainians and Jews will remain Jews and that, I believe, is the way it ought to be. We will not let the Soviet government destroy our will.

We are very fortunate here in the United States to live and function in a land where liberty is total. It is Soviet tyranny which brings us here tonight, but it is American liberty which permits us to meet. In this fertile American soil, we can perform our duty to our brethren across the ocean, without in any way compromising our loyalty to this land which is ours. We, as Jews, have our committees and organizations, both lay and religious, and so do you. The more the Kremlin seeks to crush our people within its borders, the more we will protest through the organs of freedom available to us. I am sure that our work has an impact. I am sure that our presence here tonight will be known to the Soviets and they will be more cautious because of us. That is why we must never relent as the watchdog for freedom. That is why we must continue to act as the conscience of mankind in examining the acts of oppression that take place behind the Soviet frontiers.

Your beloved poet laureate, Taras Shevchenko, who gave his name to the award you have presented to me tonight, has expressed the conscience of mankind perhaps better than any human ever has. The language of his verse was that of the Ukrainians, an assertion of your birthright. The thrilling lilt of his verse embodied man's eternal outcry—against man's inhumanity to man, against social injustice, against political enslavement, against resignation to subjugation. Thus, through verse he was a spokesman not only for Ukrainians, but for all those who believe in man's basic rights and dignity. He was a universal statesman and crusader.

Shevchenko's poetry gave impetus to the development of revolutionary movements among your fellow countrymen, the culmination of which was the independence which Ukraine enjoyed for a brief three years beginning in 1918. But again tragedy befell the Ukrainians, when Soviet Communist forces overran the country. For the second time in its history, Ukraine came under Russian domination, its people subjected to the will of a superimposed government.

But the history of your people is like mine. Whatever force the Soviets use, they will not crush the spirit of their victims. You are a proud people and you will not give in. My people, too, are proud and neither will they submit to brute force. Let these two peoples remain as symbols of the thirst for freedom that will not be slaked by falsehood and hypocrisy. Let us listen to the words of Shevchenko and take them, as we have in the past, as a model:

"So likewise shall our spirit never die
Nor our dear freedom wholly vanquished lie.
Sooner may foemen hope to plough with glee
A meadow at the bottom of the sea,
As chain the living soul with force uncouth
Or choke to death the vital word of Truth.
The glory of our God may not be rent,
The glory of the Lord Omnipotent."

[From the Ukrainian Bulletin, October-November 1966]

CHINA AND UKRAINE: MUST REGAIN FREEDOM
(Remarks by the Hon. Liu Chieh, Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations, on the 25th anniversary of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York Hilton Hotel, October 8, 1966)

I consider it a unique privilege to participate in the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Your organization, if I may say so, is the very embodiment of the spirit of Taras Shevchenko, the great poet of Ukraine, the symbol of Ukrainian nationhood.

In its tireless work for the cause of the Ukrainian people, decades after their absorption into the Soviet Empire, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is an inspiring example to all those who are fighting in defense of human freedom.

The world knows that the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is not a true union, not a voluntary and free union. It was formed, and has been maintained, not with the consent of the peoples of the component "national republics," but by the use of force and coercion. It will be recalled that on January 4, 1920, in a letter to the workers and peasants of Ukraine, Lenin declared:

"The independence of Ukraine is recognized by the All-Russian Socialist Federated Republic and the Russian Communist Party . . . We desire a voluntary union of nations, a union which would not permit the use of force by one nation against another."

This promise of independence was never meant to be kept. The Red Army destroyed mercilessly the resistance forces in Ukraine, as well as those in Georgia, Armenia, and elsewhere in the Russian Empire, just as the Soviet tanks ruthlessly suppressed the Hungarian uprising ten years ago. The Soviet regime has never allowed the oppressed the opportunity to exercise their right to self-determination.

Today, in the United Nations, the Soviet Union has the effrontery to pose as the world's champion of the cause of freedom and independence for the colonial countries and peoples. The Chinese Delegation has, on more than one occasion, urged the United Nations to include, in its study of colonialism, a survey of the conditions of all the submerged nations and enslaved peoples in the Soviet Empire. Unfortunately, such a survey has never been made.

In this connection, I was particularly impressed by your publications, *The Ukrainian Quarterly* and *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which contain a wealth of information on the conditions in Ukraine and elsewhere within the Soviet empire. I believe public interest could be aroused if these facts were to become more widely known.

We of Free China are in complete sympathy with the purposes of your organization. Our fellow countrymen on the mainland have been under Communist domination for 17 years, but have never ceased to resist the tyrannical regime in Peking. The Chinese mainland is today in a state of great chaos and turmoil. The so-called "cultural revolution" that is going on in the mainland, as the official Communist press describes it, is an unprecedented "life-and-death struggle" against the "anti-Party" and "anti-Socialist" elements as well as a war to eradicate the vestiges of "old culture, old thinking, old customs, and old habits."

To accomplish these purposes, Mao Tse-tung, the old mad man in Peking, and Lin Biao, his heir apparent, have organized fanatic youths in Red Guards and directed them to rampage about the country. They desecrate churches and temples; they destroy art objects and burn old books; they invade and ransack homes of so-called

"feudal" and "bourgeois" elements; they subject the populace to extreme humiliation and often physical ill-treatment. A reign of terror has now swept over the length and breadth of the vast country. The need to use such roaming gangs of bullies to stamp out opposition is implicit confession that the regime does not itself believe that it has the support of the people.

Let me state in all frankness that my Government's policy toward our people on the Chinese mainland has always been one of liberation. The Government of the Republic of China in Taiwan stands as a beacon of hope to people all the time. The knowledge that there is a Chinese Government on Chinese soil trying its best to help them throw off the Communist yoke impacts to their struggles a meaning, a courage that is sustained by a sense of purpose. For this reason, opposition to the Communist regime is growing on the mainland of my country. I can assure you that the time is fast approaching when the masses of people, realizing that the evils of submission are obviously greater than those of resistance, will rise up and topple the Communist tyranny. When that time comes—and I have not the slightest doubt that it is coming—the Government and people in Taiwan are ready to come to the succor of their brethren on the mainland. I hope our purpose and our commitment will have your sympathy and moral support.

Let all free men go forward together with united strength to hasten the day when all peoples now under Communist domination will regain their freedom.

WE ARE ALIKE IN OUR ASPIRATIONS

(Remarks of the Hon. Nguyen Duy Lien, Permanent Observer of the Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations, at the Ninth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, October 8, 1966)

I am happy to convey to the Congress my best wishes of success and fruitful discussions.

We in Viet Nam are fully aware of the precious support the members of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America have given us directly or indirectly in our struggle against the Communists to preserve our freedom and our inherent right to self-determination.

Ukraine and Viet Nam are far apart. But the aspirations of our two peoples are the same and the fight they are sustaining will have a great impact on the cause of freedom everywhere.

Freedom, as well as security, has become indivisible. Each time that a nation is submerged by communism, it is not only its fate which is at stake, but the security and freedom of other people is at the same time threatened and imperiled.

When the Iron Curtain fell over Eastern Europe, with a long list of enslaved nations, this marked an important turning point in the drive of International Communism for world domination. This expansion of the Communist empire increased the potentials of Soviet Russia for mischiefs in other parts of the world.

In Asia, when Mainland China fell to Communism, this was a momentous historical event, because 700 million people lost their freedom, and also because the Communist camp vastly increased the manpower and natural resources at its disposition. Since then, Southeast Asia has been under a continuous campaign of subversion, infiltration or even open aggression.

In the Philippines the Communist-directed Huk revolt came very close a decade ago to taking over the country and still is posing a serious threat to the national security.

In Malaysia, the Communists, who were defeated after a 12-year guerrilla war, are again stirring troubles with their newly created National Liberation League and National Liberation Army.

Laos which has adopted a neutralist policy

and which has spared no effort to woo the good will of Red China and North Viet Nam has attained none of its goals of territorial integrity and peaceful coexistence. In statements made before the United Nations General Assembly and in documents submitted to the International Control Commission, its government has given undeniable evidence of the infiltration of North Vietnamese regular units through Laotian territory and of attacks by these units against the Laotian Armed Forces.

Thailand, which has never fallen under colonial rule, is not spared by the so-called Liberation Movement. Red China's Foreign Minister Chen Yi has overtly announced that a war of liberation would soon be started there and in fact guerrilla activities have already been launched in the northeast area close to the Laos border.

A policy of strict neutralism or even close relation with the Communists are not guarantees against attacks. The invasion of India in 1962, the Communist attempt to take over Indonesia last year are flagrant examples of the true meaning of Red China's professed friendship. Thus, the war in Viet Nam is only the most dramatic development of the same confrontation which is occurring everywhere in Asia. Viet Nam is the point of impact in the decisive test for Asia's future course. If the Communists were allowed to take over South Viet Nam through armed aggression, the present state of latent subversion would explode into large-scale guerrilla warfare all over Southeast Asia. Conscious of the true nature of the Communist conspiracy and of the far-reaching implications of the present struggle, the Vietnamese people are determined to increase their efforts until the aggression directed against them has been stopped.

I would like to point out that the non-Communist Vietnamese have unequivocally rejected the Communists whenever they had an opportunity to express their choice. In 1954, against tremendous odds and at tremendous cost, a million North Vietnamese chose to move to the South in a period of three hundred days to participate in the building of a new nation. Some weeks ago, 4.3 million Vietnamese, over 80 percent of the electorate, went to the polls in spite of Communist terrorism to affirm their option for a non-Communist system of government.

In this struggle, the Vietnamese are deeply appreciative of the assistance given by friendly nations. We have requested the aid of countries whose security is threatened like ours, and many have responded with enthusiasm.

Our case is quite simple: we are victims of an aggression and we have to defend ourselves. The war we are fighting is purely for self-defense. Neither Viet Nam nor her allies harbor any expansionist ambition. We do not seek to destroy the North Viet Nam Communist regime or any other Communist government. We did not start this war and we have spared no effort to bring back peace. It is very unfortunate, it is tragic for our people and for world peace in general that the Communists have been so far unresponsive to every peace overture and have chosen, instead, to pursue their aggressive policy. The main reason for this intransigence on their part is, I think, the lack of unity and dissenting opinions of small minorities in various countries of the free world. These dissenting minorities have led the Communist aggressor to think that the disunity of the western alliance, the internal contradictions of the free world make it impossible for us to sustain a protracted war effort. The lesson for us is clear: security and survival of the free nations can be achieved only through a firm determination to resist Communist expansion.

At the same time, let us never forget that communism—either the Soviet or the Chinese brand—today remains as dedicated as ever to world domination. Their main point

of difference concerns only the means to achieve this aim—whether to resort to open warfare or to a more refined system of subversion. Let us not be lulled into such illusory hopes as “peaceful coexistence,” “Red liberalization” or a relief of tension between the free world and the Soviet Union or Communist China.

In the face of the Communist determination to bury the free world, one way only is open to free men everywhere: to unite their ranks, to keep alive the flame of liberty and it is in this spirit that joining this Congress, I look forward with you to the day when through the concerted efforts of free men, we can celebrate the recovery of freedom in enslaved nations throughout the world.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence. It is a day on which peoples of the free world can rejoice, for in that declaration by the Ukrainian patriots 49 years ago, there was manifested once again man's dedication to the principle of self-determination.

The principle of self-determination was the seminal source of Ukrainian independence; it is the seminal source of all movements that seek a free and independent way of life.

It is this principle of self-determination that generated much of the motive power in the spirit of nationalism that has pervaded so much of the history of the modern age.

We Americans claimed for ourselves the right to determine what our destiny would be; and when that right was denied us, we resorted to a long, wearisome war to achieve our national purposes.

We have never forgotten that historical experience.

We have never forgotten the sacrifices we made to achieve our national independence.

Is it any wonder, therefore, that we should feel a deep sympathy for all peoples who seek to achieve the goals that we claimed as our right?

Today we are engaged in a difficult struggle in Vietnam. At the root of this struggle is our conviction that all peoples have a right to determine the government that leads them. For the fulfillment of this philosophic concept as well as that of other more earthly bound interests we are fighting in Vietnam. It is essentially for this reason that we were engaged in both the Pacific war of 1941-45 and again in the Korean war of 1950-53.

On this anniversary of Ukrainian independence it is right that we should call to mind our own historic commitment to self-determination; for in so doing we can contemplate our own good fortune and that of a people who through no fault of their own failed to achieve their national goal.

We can rededicate ourselves again to the purposes of our forefathers, men of great heroic proportions, who sought to make this principle an enduring reality for all mankind.

Ukrainians and all oppressed people deserve our profoundest sympathy; more than that, they deserve from us a re-statement of our historic commitment to this principle of self-determination; for it is a truism that our own freedom shall never be wholly assured until this

principle has been universally accepted and respected by all humanity.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to join my colleagues in saluting the brave people of Ukraine, whose 49th anniversary of independence occurs this month. These gallant people, although overrun with communism within 3 years of their independence, today serve continuously as an inspiration and guiding light to all men of peace, freedom, and independence.

It is fitting and proper that this House and this Congress recognize the Independence Day of the Ukrainian people. Although they have long been dominated by their Communist conquerors, they have not given up the hope nor the fight for independence.

All Americans, I am sure, share this hope and this dream. I am proud to join in the tribute to a proud and courageous people.

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 49th anniversary of the proclamation by a national council at Kiev declaring the Ukraine to be a free and independent republic. The pages of history sadly reveal, however, that this independence of the Ukraine was short-lived, for in 1920 the Communists submitted the Ukraine to the hammer and sickle, and that country has been under Kremlin domination ever since.

The Ukraine is, as we all know, a heavily populated area that borders on the Black Sea, with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania being to the west and the southwest. Kiev is its capital.

This area contains the arable black soil belt, which is extremely well suited to the production of wheat. In addition, sugarbeets and oil seeds are proving very important crops, and livestock breeding is rapidly becoming a very important industry.

The Donets Basin in the Ukraine has a huge storage of coal, iron, and other metals, and the Ukraine also has chemical and dye industries, as well as salt mines.

It is quite apparent, Mr. Speaker, that the Ukraine is rich in resources, and history also proves that its people are rich in the spirit of freedom. America has given recognition to this spirit of freedom, for on September 21, 1963, historic ground-breaking ceremonies were conducted in the Capital of our Nation for Taras Shevchenko, a 19th-century Ukrainian poet and freedom fighter. Shevchenko died in 1861 at the age of 47, after a life in which he was a serf, a soldier, a prisoner of the Russians, and only briefly a free man. A statue of the poet-fighter stands in the city of Kiev in the Ukraine, and Moscow contends that this man stood out as a foe of imperialism.

Close to 3,000 Americans of diverse backgrounds took part in the ground-breaking ceremony at the Shevchenko site on P and 23d Streets NW., Washington, D.C., and the city had not seen such a groundbreaking ceremony in many years. The statute was unveiled on May 30 of 1963 in a dramatic and well-attended ceremony.

Mr. Speaker, it is hard to understand why some people in this world are free

while others are under bondage. It is, however, encouraging to see that many Afro-Asian peoples have obtained their complete national sovereignty, and others stand on the threshold of freedom.

This nonetheless makes it hard to perceive why a nation like the Ukraine still remains under the shadow of domination by another nation, deprived of equal, national, cultural, economic, political, and religious rights. True peace for mankind can come only when this inequality is eliminated from the face of the earth.

We of the free nations, Mr. Speaker, must hold out our hands and our hearts to these people who do not share with us the warm light of freedom, and we must hold the light of kindness high for them so that they can see it through the darkness of their confined existence.

If we do this, then our fellow men who are not free will see a beacon of hope, and they will perceive a promise that someday they, too, will walk the pathway of purposeful living.

On this 49th anniversary date, then, of the declaration of Ukrainian independence, the free world rededicates itself to the eventual peaceful liberation of the Ukrainian people. To the Ukrainians good luck and Godspeed.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, the State of North Dakota is fortunate to have among her citizens a sizable number of Ukrainian Americans. They are observing the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Ukrainian National Republic and the 48th anniversary of the act of union in a fitting and solemn celebration. There will be a series of special church services, rallies, and radio programs on several stations in North Dakota. These freedom-loving people have called on their fellow American citizens, regardless of their ethnic or cultural backgrounds, to join with them in marking this important anniversary of the freedom of the Ukraine.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend them all who are demonstrating this unity and determination to uphold the cause of freedom everywhere.

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 49th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. At a time when many people in this world live under varying stages of tyranny, it is appropriate for all of us to recall the valiant struggle for freedom and independence which Ukrainians have waged for centuries. Our enthusiasm for freedom and self-determination will be revived tenfold when we examine the courageous perseverance of the Ukrainians.

During the 9th through 11th centuries various peoples in the Ukraine assembled around the capital of Kiev to constitute a nation of some importance in the Western and Eastern World. However, the invasion of the Mongols, in 1240, ended this progress and since then the Ukraine has been the victim and pawn of neighboring states. In fact, the Ukraine endured persecution and destruction of enormous proportions.

In time, Russia gained physical control over the Ukraine, using the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654 as an instrument of

interference. Throughout the following centuries, Ukrainians suffered atrocity after atrocity at the hands of the Russians but their spirit of independence and freedom flourished rather than languished. A cultural revival in the 1740's reached its peak with Taras Shevchenko, whose poetry evoked strong feelings for national independence. Indicative of Shevchenko's national passion is this quotation from one of his poems:

... when,
When will we receive our Washington
With a new and righteous law?
And receive him we will some day . . .

All of the Ukraine's hopes seemed to become reality in 1918 when on January 22 the Parliament proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic as completely independent. This reality, however, was short lived; the Bolsheviks quickly moved back in 1920 and took over where they left off before World War I. Persecutions, relocations of whole villages, exiles of significant personages, starvations, and executions have been the rule of the day, but through it all the Ukrainians have kept alive their indomitable spirit and desire for independence. We can do no less than to offer every means of support available.

I am proud to join my colleagues in the House of Representatives in tribute to the Ukraine.

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, some nations are blessed with favorable geographic locations. Others have not been so fortunate. One of the latter countries is the Ukraine. She has always been located in a part of the world where great power rivalries frequently and bloodily meet. Caught thus between powerful neighbors, her people have had to wage a constant struggle to maintain their national identity.

Since the 17th century when the fledgling Russian empire destroyed her national freedom she has almost always been under the domination of foreign powers. But, for a brief period of 2 years after the First World War had weakened her great neighbors, she was able to reassert her claim to independent nationhood. The sad sequel to this great event in Ukrainian history was the reimposition of alien domination. The new regime of Lenin incorporated that rich, but vulnerable, country into the new Soviet empire.

On the 22d of January millions of friends of the Ukraine celebrated the 49th anniversary of the declaration of Ukrainian independence. It is fitting that we should pause in our activities to join with others in doing this. The example of the Ukraine is both a stirring and forceful reminder of the harsh facts of international life. So long as any nation, the Ukraine being an excellent example, still lives under the forceful domination of another country we must publicly state our belief that this state of affairs is wrong. The Ukraine wanted freedom. There is little or no reason to believe her people have changed their minds and given up the goals they espoused over the centuries and openly declared 49 years ago. Thus, it is only right that other freedom-loving nations and individuals should support and

praise the courageous act of nearly a half a century ago.

Mr. Speaker, the terrible consequences of geographical accident should not be a factor in determining the national existence of any people. We must always affirm that all nations have the right to determine their destiny irrespective of their natural physical situation. Therefore, it is my pleasure at this time to extend to the people of the Ukraine and to their brethren living in other lands such as our own my deepest best wishes that the hopes of 1918 will again be converted into the concrete institutions of a free and independent Ukraine.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 49th anniversary of the independence of the Ukraine. In 1918 the Ukrainian people proclaimed their freedom from Russian domination. Taking advantage of the chaos produced by the Russian revolution the Ukrainians joyously declared their independence in the city of Kiev. But the tyranny of the czars was soon replaced by the tyranny of the Communists. The great dream of the Ukrainian people came true, but only for a brief time. The Ukrainians fought Russian Communist domination for 3 years but were finally conquered by the superior military might of Moscow.

Today the Ukrainian people are still under the yoke of foreign domination. Although the Ukraine was an independent nation as long ago as A.D. 900, the Ukrainian people are today denied their right to self-determination and national independence.

Americans of Ukrainian descent enjoy the blessings of liberty in our great country. But they cannot forget their friends and relatives in the Ukraine. They know that the Ukrainian love of liberty cannot be conquered. Some day that desire for freedom will triumph.

I wish to reaffirm my personal commitment to the cause of Ukrainian self-determination. The demise of the old colonial empires has demonstrated the inherent weakness of a system in which one country tries to rule another. Communist colonialism must also eventually succumb to the desire of peoples everywhere to control their own destinies.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, on this day, January 22, 1967, we recognize the anniversary of the independence of the Ukraine. On this date in 1918, the Ukrainian state, now comprising 45 million people and surviving as the largest captive non-Russian nation, declared its independence in the tradition of our own American Revolution. It is fitting that on this date each year we recognize that in the dark world of captive nations, the light of freedom still burns. It is the symbol of a sustained spirit that communism has failed to destroy. Soviet dictators may imprison a man, but not his soul and his longing for freedom.

Few free people in this world have suffered as long or as severely as those of the Ukraine. For more than 300 years, under Czarist and Communist, they have borne the yoke of the oppressor. But still the torch of freedom burns not in a public square, but in the hearts of the people.

Only for a very brief period of 2 years did they enjoy some freedom. They tried hard to fashion their own destiny, but

unfortunately they were not successful in their gallant attempt.

At the end of the First World War, when the czarist regime was overturned and the Russians were unable to hold the Ukrainians in check, then the people of the Ukraine proclaimed their independence and established their national government in the newly created Ukrainian Republic. Under severe handicaps, they managed to maintain their freedom and preserve their rather weak state for about 2 years. But even from the moment of its birth, it seemed that the days of the new state were numbered unless effective foreign assistance was forthcoming. At the time this proved impossible. Then in 1920 the Ukrainian Republic was treacherously attacked by the Red army, was overrun, and all opponents of Soviet Russia were ruthlessly eliminated. Independent Ukraine ceased to exist, and the country became part of the Soviet Union. They were deprived of their freedom, yet they still clung to their ideals of freedom and independence, only by keeping alive the spirit of freedom can captive citizens ever hope to be free. This spirit, so evident in the Ukraine, is probably the free world's most effective weapon in our continuing fight against the powerful forces of communism.

Today marks the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day, and I join all Americans of Ukrainian descent in the celebration of the Ukrainian Independence Day, a memorable and significant occasion.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, today we pause to remember the gallant people of the Ukraine and to pay homage to their love of liberty. For we are commemorating the 49th anniversary of the day when the Ukrainians proclaimed their independence from the yoke of the Russian czars. Tragically, that independence was short lived. For the Ukrainians were forced under the domination of a new set of Russian rulers, the Bolsheviks.

In 1917 the Ukrainian people took advantage of the Russian revolution to free themselves from the tyranny of Moscow. The gallant Ukrainian people fought the new rulers in Moscow for 3 long years to preserve their precious and new-found freedom and national independence. Ultimately the numerically superior forces of Moscow prevailed.

Yet the flame of freedom and independence lit by that great struggle burns unextinguished in the hearts of the Ukrainian people, wherever they live. Americans of Ukrainian descent enjoy the blessings of democracy in this great country. But they cannot forget their friends and relatives in the Ukraine who are not so fortunate.

We must reaffirm our support for the principle of national self-determination, all over the world. We must do all we can to hasten the day when Ukrainian independence will become a fact, and not just an inspiring memory.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, more than a million and a half Americans of Ukrainian descent paid homage on January 22, 1967, to the ideal of Ukrainian national independence; for that day marked the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the

Ukraine. It is, for Ukrainians as well as for all freedom-loving men everywhere, a day of sadness, because, as we all know, independence for these proud people has been thwarted at every turn by her more powerful neighbors. For centuries, millions of people of Ukrainian descent have striven to form an independent state as a logical extension of their unique Ukrainian culture and spirit. But their lands were too rich and their neighbors too numerous and powerful. The Turks, the Poles, the Germans and the Russians at numerous times in history have sought to extend their control over the Ukraine, and Imperial Russia, and later Communist Russia, has been politically dominant in the area since the time of Peter I.

Yet the will of a people to be free has not been extinguished. Ukrainian poets and writers have kept the spirit alive, and when the Russian grip has been loosened by events beyond her control that spirit has rekindled the efforts of the whole of the Ukrainian people to be free. It happened on January 22, 1918, with the Ukrainian declaration of independence, an independence which endured more than 3 years in the face of overwhelming military opposition by the Red army. And it happened again on June 30, 1941, when Ukrainian independence was proclaimed in the face of both Russian and Nazi threats.

A great Ukrainian nationalist, Ivan Franko, said: "To live means to struggle." And for Ukrainians everywhere January 22 marks a day of rededication to the struggle which is the most important of all—the struggle to be free.

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Speaker, today we commemorate the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, proclaimed in the city of Kiev in 1918. Freed of czarist Russian tyranny, the gallant young republic was soon faced with a threat to its existence from the new Communist rulers at Moscow. The Ukrainian people bravely battled their Russian oppressors, but at last succumbed to Moscow's superior military force.

But the Ukrainian people have never abandoned their love of liberty and their longing for national independence. Their love of independence is deeply rooted in their national history, for they have suffered from almost continual foreign domination.

Ukrainians who today struggle for their freedom remember their nation's history with great pride. Between the ninth and the 13th centuries Kiev was the capital of a strong and independent Ukrainian state. The Ukraine had close ties with the Byzantine Empire and her cultural development was extremely advanced. In the year 988 Volodymyr the Great converted his nation to Christianity. His son, Yaroslav the Wise, compiled an advanced code of laws and founded many schools.

But the Ukraine is a rich land and it attracted many plunderers and invaders. For several centuries the Ukrainian people bravely defended their country but were not always able to drive off their enemies. During this long period of almost continual fighting there arose a brave class of fighters known as the Cossacks. And this class produced new leadership for the beleaguered nation.

The most famous of these was Bohdan Khmelnytsky—1595–1657.

In the year 1709 Czar Peter the Great conquered the Ukraine and ruthlessly crushed the leading class, which believed deeply in independence. From that date to the present day the history of the Ukraine is the story of the Ukrainian people's struggle to throw off Russian rule.

In 1918 the Ukrainian people took advantage of the continuing chaos which followed the Russian revolution and declared their independence. At last the dream of centuries came true. But, tragically, the Ukrainians were again confronted with the threat of Russian domination under the Communists. At the end of 3 long years the Ukrainian nation had been conquered, but the struggle for independence did not die.

During World War II the Ukrainians organized the underground Ukrainian Insurgent Army—UPA—which fought first the Nazis and then the returning Red Army. Even today news of opposition to Russian Communist domination leaks out to the West.

I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm my personal commitment to the cause of Ukrainian independence. I am convinced that no people so dedicated throughout their history to this cause can forever remain under the yoke of foreign domination.

Mr. McCLODY. Mr. Speaker, January 22 of this year marked the 49th anniversary of Ukraine's independence. The Ukrainian nation, presently numbering 45 million people, on that date in 1918, and emulating the earlier American Declaration of Independence, declared itself a free and independent state. Shortly thereafter, in 1920, this large and beautiful area bordering the Black Sea, became victim to the Soviet Russian march toward world conquest.

The voice of peoples yearning for freedom cannot be stilled. Forty-six years have elapsed since the overthrow of the Ukrainian Government and this section of the world is still voicing its insistence on its right to be self-governed and out from under the control of any nation.

Mr. Speaker, it seems incumbent upon us to support the Ukrainian people in their efforts to oust the aggressor by giving special consideration to this important date in the world's history. Let us continue to support in whatever appropriate manner we may, every segment of this planet's peoples as they strive to achieve and maintain their national integrity.

Our Nation has been unstinting in its efforts to achieve these goals, globally. I ask no appropriation for funds, no delegations nor military missions, but an increased awareness on the part of all of us that while the U.S.S.R. is urging others to reject colonialism, she herself has been one of the chief practitioners of imperialistic colonialism since her own revolution.

I, therefore, wish to express my own sentiments and those of a large measure of our population in congratulating the Ukrainian people on their steadfast and undeviating position of resistance to the U.S.S.R. and to applaud their continuing efforts to regain their freedom and independence.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues today in paying tribute to the more than 40 million Ukrainians who comprise the largest captive non-Russian nation in the Soviet. January 22 marked their 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence.

These proud and freedom-loving people were among the earliest victims of Communist imperialism. But they have not forgotten their proud history and continue to cling to hopes that some day freedom and independence will return to the Ukraine. It remains for us in the free world to keep these hopes and aspirations alive, to be sympathetic and understanding of their plight.

Again, I express my support for a Special Committee on the Captive Nations, and for the issuance of a captive nations freedom series of postage stamps in honor of national heroes of freedom, commencing with a Taras Shevchenko freedom stamp.

When Congress adopted the resolution on Captive Nations Week in 1959, a hard blow was dealt to communism which echoed throughout the world and struck a responsive chord in the hearts of many people.

On this sad anniversary, we in the United States once again pledge our warm friendship for the Ukrainian people, and our solidarity with their undying aspirations for independence and liberty. We support their cause for a free and independent nation, and we join in their prayers on this day that freedom will soon be realized.

With permission, I wish to append the following selected items as part of my remarks, which I think will be of interest to my colleagues:

First. An article, "Voice of Moscow Puppet in U.N.," which appeared in the October–November 1966 issue of the Ukrainian Bulletin.

Second. Speech of Senator THOMAS J. DONN on October 8, 1966.

Third. Address by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee, before the Ninth Congress of the UCCA.

[From the Ukrainian Bulletin, October–November 1966]

VOICE OF MOSCOW PUPPET IN U.N.

On October 11, 1966 the "Minister of Foreign Affairs" of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Dmytro Bilokolos (he prefers to call himself "Belokolos" a la Russel) made a scathing attack on the United States in the U.N. Assembly, which fact was totally ignored by the New York press.

In the October 13, 1966 issue of *Radyanska Ukraina* of Kiev there appeared the complete text of Mr. Bilokolos' address. It seems that he assailed the United States for "interfering in the internal affairs of other nations," notably, the Ukrainian SSR. This "interference" is manifested, he said, by "participation of some members of the American government in gatherings of counter-revolutionary organizations and traitors of the Ukrainian people," and in declarations of the U.S. government expressing a "solidarity of the U.S. government with actions of these former lackeys of German fascism," and especially "in annual sessions of both Houses of the American Congress, dedicated to a regime stillborn and established by the bayonets of foreign interventionists."

This is, of course, reference to the anniversary of Ukraine's independence, observed

by the Ukrainian American community and by Ukraine's friends in Congress on January 22nd each year.

In typical Communist fashion this puppet of Moscow twists the facts to suit the Kremlin's line. It was the Russian bayonets which crushed the independent state of Ukraine. Yet, he brazenly reversed the truth, so as to make the Russians look like "liberators." He not only accused Americans of Ukrainian ancestry of being "criminals," but degraded the historic deeds of Ukrainian patriots who in 1918 rose to freedom and established a free state of Ukraine.

Can anyone believe that Comrade Bilokolos really represents the Ukrainian people?

SENATOR DODD URGES ISSUE OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM BE RAISED AT U.N.—ASKS SELF-DETERMINATION FOR EUROPEAN CAPTIVE NATIONS, OCTOBER 8, 1966

Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) in a speech before the Conference of Americans of Ukrainian Descent at the New York Hilton Hotel this evening, said that the free world powers had displayed a "strange inconsistency" in championing self-determination for primitive peoples in Africa but ignoring the right of self-determination for the captive nations of Europe. Senator Dodd urged that the United States and the other free nations should start talking about this matter at the UN.

The text of Senator Dodd's remarks follows:

"When my old friend, Lev Dobriansky, invited me to address this conference of Americans of Ukrainian descent, I was pleased and honored and perplexed all at the same time.

"I was pleased and honored because I have so many Ukrainian-American friends and because I have such great admiration for their national character, for the warmth of their folk music, for their culture, and for their total commitment to the cause of freedom.

"But, I was also perplexed because it is difficult to know how to explain to people in your position the strange inconsistency the free world powers have displayed on the issue of the Captive Nations of Europe.

"We hear much in the United Nations these days about American imperialism and Western imperialism in general. Hardly a day goes by but that some spokesman for the Communist bloc or for the Afro-Asian nations raises the issue of self-determination for Mozambique and Angola and Southwest Africa. I do not complain about this, indeed, I believe that even primitive peoples are entitled to the basic right of self-determination.

"But, for some strange reason, nothing is said in the halls of the United Nations on the subject of Soviet imperialism.

"No one speaks about the many ancient and civilized peoples who are the victims of the cruelest imperialism that history has ever known.

"No one ventures to remind the Communists, when they raise the fraudulent issue of American imperialism in Puerto Rico, for example, that the Soviet Union, itself, is a great prison-house of nations.

"It is high time, it is past time, that the representatives of the United States and of the other free nations, started talking about these matters.

"I always feel a sense of humility when I speak to a group such as yours because I believe that we in America have perhaps forgotten part of the meaning of freedom and that we have much to learn about the meaning of freedom in the world of today from our citizens of Central and Eastern European descent, and, in particular, from our citizens of Ukrainian descent.

"The Ukrainian people, having suffered for centuries under the cruel yoke of the Russian Czars, took advantage of the post World War I chaos to declare their freedom from Moscovite control and to establish a free republic, dedicated to the principles of

democracy, and inspired by the writings of Shevchenko and of our own founding fathers.

"The barbarous hordes of the newly created Red army swept over the liberated Ukraine and killed their new-born state. The Ukrainian Republic was crushed.

"But the spirit of freedom which burns in the hearts of your countrymen, has demonstrated over five long decades of Soviet repression and brutality, that it cannot be destroyed by any tyranny.

"During World War II, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians fought as guerrillas against the Nazi invaders and against the Bolsheviks. And for many years after the war, although the struggle seemed hopeless, they continued the fight against the overwhelmingly superior forces of the Red army. There are a thousand different proofs, including the continuing annual mass sit-down strikes of millions of Ukrainian peasants, that Ukrainian people have not abandoned the fight for freedom.

"What do the Ukrainian people want? The answer is agonizingly simple.

"They want to live as human beings and not as cogs in the Communist machine.

"They want to live as Ukrainians, and not as colonial surfs of Moscow.

"They want the right to raise their children in belief of God, to taste the sweet things of life, and to organize their personal lives free of State control.

"They want the right, which is assured to every people under the United Nations charter, to freely elect the men who will govern them, and thus, to determine their own future.

"The Ukrainian people, and the people of all the captive nations, will never accept their enslavement; they will continue to struggle until their dreams are realized, and their children are free.

"But the citizens of the free world should not leave the Ukrainian people and the other peoples of the captive nations alone in their struggle. We have a duty to speak up. And I want to assure you that, so long as I am a member of the United States Senate, I shall continue to raise this issue on every possible occasion, in the hope that some day the liberation of the captive nations will be converted from a meaningless slogan into a realistic goal of our foreign policy."

UNITE, CONSERVE, CONSTRUCT, AND ADVANCE

(Address by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and professor of economics at Georgetown University, also chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee, before the Ninth Congress of the UCCA, New York, October 7, 1966)

As on numerous occasions in the past, it is my privilege and pleasure to warmly greet you all on this most significant Ninth Congress of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. By all evidence this is the largest convention of our national organization, and the enthusiasm and constructive dedication displayed here augur well for the further development and success of our work and common action on a broad spectrum of activities.

It is not my intention here to report on the manifold representation and activities we have been engaged in from the vantage points of both Washington and New York these past four years. Those who were interested and dedicated enough to follow the many, diverse courses pursued in the realization of our objectives and principles have doubtlessly read with regular intent the periodic *Washington UCCA News* as reported in *America* and *Narodne Slovo*. The columns in these respective newspapers have covered in specific detail the almost day-to-day engagements dealing with our activities, and if anyone professes to know nothing about what is currently transpiring, then very simply he hasn't taken the pains to indulge in any reading. Frequently our largest Amer-

ican organs have covered these essential activities, as well as our own *Ukrainian Bulletin*. So there is really no excuse on the part of anyone in our organization to plead ignorance, other than on the basis of his own literary negligence. A condensation of my report on UCCA's national operations has been made available to each of you.

UNITY

Rather, the overriding theme of this presidential address is UCCA, realistically spelled out for all of us and the period ahead as United, Conserve, Construct, and Advance. In the eyes of many fellow Americans this period in our history is supposed to be one of uncertainty, confusions, rapid change, and compromising adjustment. Some, perhaps rightly, point to the growing disunity in our country concerning the Viet Nam issue, the admission of Red China into the U.N., East-West trade, the American detente with the Soviet Union and related issues, but for us, knowing quite vividly how all this came to be what it is, from the time of the original Soviet Russian imperio-colonial conquests in 1918 to the present, there cannot honestly be any disunity in conscience, intellect, and dedication as to basic principles and realistic policy.

In the past four years we have maintained a genuine unity in organization, outlook, and objective. As always, and I can assure you more so now, there have been and are divisive elements that seek to undermine this priceless and envied unity. Some of these elements are communist-inspired, one is on a government payroll and is only worth the money it receives, and others are either blind or duped. As in the case of the cultural exchange program, not to mention the festivities surrounding the erection of the Shevchenko statue in our Nation's capital, such elements were firmly resisted and quelled.

Make no mistake about this overall development. UCCA will increasingly become a target of these elements, and one would have to be quite naive not to understand why. But as in the past and now, for the eventful period ahead we shall properly guard against these obnoxious, self-seeking influences. And in performing this marginal exercise we shall be adding new lustre to our genuine unity, and intensifying and strengthening it for the positive tasks that lie ahead. Thus, when with one refrain we cry aloud Unite-Conserve-Construct-and Advance, the first, logical step is to unite more than ever before.

CONSERVATION

As we unite more cohesively to cope with the inevitable challenges of the immediate future, we must also conserve what has been built up all these years. Proudly, this Congress commemorates the 25th Anniversary of UCCA. In truly commemorating anything one's mind recounts the cumulative experiences of the past—the successes and failures, the pains and joys, the achievements and the nullities—and above all it concentrates on the living goods and assets that have been created with a resolve and dedication to conserve these goods for the work ahead.

Viewing the scope and diversity of UCCA's operations, many of our fellow citizens still believe that this is a million dollar organization. Pointing to such evidences as the historic Shevchenko statue unveiling, the Captive Nations Week Resolution and the annual observance, our remarkable publications and the periodicals *The Ukrainian Quarterly* and *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, our Congressional testimonies and events, and our broad representations in every conceivable sphere, they still don't believe that we function at somewhat less than a million per year, even after you show them our financial report. One Latvian friend of ours contends we operate with two sets of books.

In this deceptive and confusing period of Moscow's "peaceful coexistence" we have

been conserving and defending our goods, our ideals, and our positions right down the line, despite the criticisms of some about the great changes that have supposedly engulfed the Red Empire. Accidental change and substantive change are not synonymous, and these people fail to see the difference. Just to mention a few examples, we conserved our position in the fight against the U.S. Senate's ratification of the Consular Convention with the USSR, in the fight against liberalizing East-West trade, in opposition to the myths about "Russia" entertained by some of our highest leaders, but also in support of Immigration law changes, a Shevchenko freedom stamp, a Congressional committee on the captive nations, Congressional hearings on cultural genocide in the USSR and a host of other issues.

Simply put, conservation does not mean stagnation. On the contrary, it means putting, to dynamic use your fixed principles and ideals, your accumulated goods and facilities, your already well-directed energy and convictions to the next and successive tests in our basic, educational work. It also means expanding our conserved goods—more subscriptions for the *Quarterly* and the *Bulletin*, more talented personnel, more activist youth, more book publications, more organizational activity, more contributions and endowments, and a building for UCCA to conserve all this and more. On the basis of my own experiences in UCCA since 1946, I have indicated some important changes we should execute at this Congress in the jubilee book article "Nine Themes For The Ninth Congress." For the good of UCCA and in preparation for our 10th Congress, I hope these changes will be approved by you. Also, if we are really intent upon conserving for the eventful future, this Congress should approve and support a campaign for a UCCA building here in New York. In short, UCCA—Unite, Conserve, Construct, and Advance. Conserve we must for what challengingly lies ahead.

CONSTRUCTION

For the past four years and with the wonderful and greatly appreciated cooperation of the members of the Executive Committee, as well as the entire UCCA, we have not been content only with uniting and conserving but also, at times against overwhelming odds, we have been tirelessly constructing—initiating new ideas, entering and developing new phases, making new friends, and forging new relations.

As in previous administrations of UCCA, this one is marked by several new "firsts." The ten new "firsts" are as follows: (1) in 1963, for the first time we managed to get the President to issue his Captive Nations Week Proclamation well in advance of the Week, and this has continued to be since; (2) also in 1963, for the first time we managed an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act prohibiting aid to "the captive constituent republics of the USSR"; (3) in 1963-64, for the first time we found ourselves in sharp conflict with a powerful newspaper, *The Washington Post*, and won in the so-called Shevchenko affair; (4) one of the greatest of all "firsts" was, of course, your and my unveiling of the Shevchenko statue in Washington only two years ago; (5) in July, 1964, for the first time a major political party specifically incorporated into its Party Platform the liberation of Ukraine; (6) in the fall of 1964, for the first time a nationwide TV exposure of Ukrainian-American representation was executed on the program "The Captive Nations"; (7) in January, 1965, for the first time a Ukrainian Independence Day celebration was held at the Shevchenko statue with Asian participation in time coincidence with Asian Freedom Day; (8) in 1965, for the first time we worked for and achieved bipartisan acceptance of the Feighan immigration bill, which insured its passage; (9) in June, 1966, for the first time we participated in a legal-type Senatorial hearing,

defending the integrity of a leading anti-Communist Senator who was concerned about the Stashynsky murders of Rebet and Bandera, and the published hearing was just released this week, and (10) just two weeks ago, on September 25, our people participated in the dedication of the Freedom Studies Center in Virginia which is the first institution in this country designed for psycho-political warfare instruction.

Construction does not only mean paving new paths and courses but also reconstructing old paths and courses for successful development. This we have been doing, too, on countless projects, such as the Shevchenko stamp, the Congressional captive nations committee, at international conferences and the like. I personally am never satisfied with what we have together achieved; for me, one achievement is only a prelude, a stepping-stone to a still more significant achievement that you and I can realize in time, with determined patience, and a prudent alertness for changes in climates of opinion and situations. These are the ingredients for constructive activity; petty, obtuse, and picaresque conflicts have no place in UCCA.

In a constructive mood, I strongly recommend at this point that this Congress pass a special resolution commending Mr. John M. Fisher, the President of the Institute for American Strategy, on his leadership in founding the unique Freedom Studies Center in Virginia and, as a cooperating agency of the Center, the UCCA contribute to the Center as determined by the new executive committee. Again, UCCA means Unity, Conservation, Construction, and Advancement—Unite, Conserve, Construct, and Advance. And as we look ahead, there is much to construct in order to advance.

ADVANCEMENT

Those who have followed closely our operations of the past four years know that we have always staked out definite objectives, definite plans, and definite tactics. Conditions change, personalities change, and so do our plans. But never our ideals and principles. It would be foolhardy for me to detail now what one would consider a full program for UCCA in the next administration. Certain changes in the Viet Nam situation, for example, could radically alter our presently planned activity. However, even at this point, what we must do and prepare for presents a program which you must consider here, and I hope will approve, for the next administration—all in the enthusiastic spirit of UCCA—Unite, Conserve, Construct, and Advance. I'll elaborate further on this minimal program tomorrow, a program which as it stands will require for its fulfillment the maximum of your resources. But for the present and for our advancement it entails the following:

(1) consideration and acceptance by you, the Ninth Congress, of my nine recommendations for change in the UCCA, with no purpose but to make our organization more efficient, more effective, and more successful;

(2) the launching of a campaign for a UCCA building to house, conserve, and basically expand UCCA's activities;

(3) provision for the creation of a publishing affiliate of UCCA to be known as the Eurasian Publishing Company, and a campaign for the publication of books dealing with our problems. This can be economically executed, and will satisfy the urgent need for book publications in line with our educational objectives;

(4) a specific resolution here and participation in all activities this month observing the 10th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution;

(5) literary and other preparation in unmasking the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, a revolution for the worst type of imperio-colonialism seen in the modern world. It is absolutely essential that we ward off probable equations in our own land of this fraudulent revolution for free-

dom and our own American or the Ukrainian Revolution;

(6) planning and preparation for the World Ukrainian Congress next year, an event fraught with tremendous possibilities and also risks;

(7) a persistent campaign for the Shevchenko Freedom Stamp, which we will achieve sooner or later;

(8) active participation in the activities of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, leading up to 1976 and including a 10th Anniversary of the unveiling of the Shevchenko statue in 1974;

(9) expanded international participation in Asian and European conferences, for which adequate funds must be provided;

(10) participation in the United Nations' International Year for Human Rights in 1968, showing their deprivation and suppression in Ukraine and other captive countries;

(11) preparations soon for more resounding Ukrainian Independence Day and Captive Nations Week observances in 1967.

And friends, these are only a few of the tasks facing us. We have roles to play in the policy of building bridges of understanding with Eastern Europe, in the attempted US-USSR detent and perhaps against Red China, in the admission of Red China into the U.N., in the diplomatic recognition of Outer Mongolia and on many other issues bearing on the captive nations and, either directly or indirectly, on the largest of them, Ukraine itself. We don't think in narrow, insular and exclusive terms but rather in broad, global, and inclusive terms. And it is primarily for this reason that we are more active than our resources presently permit, that we are looked upon as a million dollar organization, and that we are the envy of every other so-called ethnic group.

In the period ahead we will have to be on guard against a number of essential developments. One is the thinking of certain circles for an American-Russian alliance, whether against the so-called yellow peril or for fear of a global nuclear war. This line of thinking certainly is not in accord with our traditions and principles, but the fantastic fear of the Russian totalitarians can lead to many policy aberrations. We will have to be prepared to steer such a development in the right direction of Russian concessions toward the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR. Another possible development is U.S. compromise in the scandalous Viet Nam War, in which Russian missile aid plays a fundamental role in destroying American lives while many advocate economic assistance to the USSR and others, including Mr. Foy Kohler, raise horrendous notes about Russian intervention in South Vietnam. The mistakes in Viet Nam are not new, nor would a shameful compromise be new in our contemporary diplomatic history. It is these and similar developments that we must watch closely.

I assure you that your dedicated and full material support of our expanding activities will bring you the utmost personal satisfaction. Our budget should be 100% greater than what it is. You can make this possible and realizable if in this Ninth Congress you determine to make UCCA what in all truth it can be—Unity, Conservation, Construction and Advancement, toward the secured interests of the United States, victory in this Cold War, and the freedom and independence of Ukraine and all the captive nations in the Red Empire.

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918. I am honored to participate in the commemoration of this significant event in Ukrainian history by the U.S. Congress.

A chronicle of Ukrainian history reaches back into the ninth century

when the first state was formed at Kiev and quickly recognized as a prominent outpost of civilization in that part of the world. The Kiev state was developing at a lively pace when the Mongols invaded the region in 1240. Even the extensive destruction of the Mongols did not overwhelm the Ukrainian desire to be free and independent.

While nominally under the rule of the Mongols, and at other times under the King of Poland, the Ukrainians organized their own units of local administration. In the 1650's Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky conceived the idea of forming a separate and distinct state by joining together all the Ukrainian lands and expelling all other ruling groups from the area. The Treaty of Pereyaslav with Moscow was signed so that Ukrainians would have allies in this struggle for complete unity.

The Russians, however, in characteristic fashion broke their promises and used the treaty as an instrument of interference in Ukrainian affairs. The Russians even used the Ukraine as a pawn in their own foreign policy, dividing it with Poland. Realizing their plight Ukrainians took advantage of every opportunity to throw off Russian control. Each action, however, brought upon the Ukrainians a more terrifying and revengeful reaction by the Russians. Peter I attacked, captured, and tortured to death the entire population of a town because the inhabitants had sided with Sweden in attacking Russia. Catherine II abolished the Hetmanate as an institution, dissolved the military regiments and wiped out any vestiges of self-government still remaining in the Ukraine. All Ukrainians suffered under Catherine's extensive Russification program.

Ukraine's answer to Russification was an intensified national revival—Ukrainian culture flourished in this time of oppression. The small beginnings of nationalistic literature exploded into enormous proportions when Taras Shevchenko emerged in the mid-1800's. His poetry was of such excellent literary quality that it guaranteed a place for the Ukraine in the annals of Slavic literature. In addition, all the pleadings of a true and dedicated patriot burst forth in Shevchenko's works. His poems and stories renew the passion for freedom and independence in the heart of the listener; Shevchenko has inspired not only Ukraine but freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

The 1905 revolution in Russia brought some relief to Ukrainians who were granted a delegation in the first Russian Duma—parliament. However, World War I caused the pendulum to shift back to the suppression of all things Ukrainian. When the Russian Revolution of February-March 1917 erupted, the Ukrainians realized that this was also their chance to break free and on June 23, 1917, the Rada—Parliament of the Ukraine—declared that the Ukraine intended to become independent.

After the Bolshevik revolution of October-November 1917 Lenin recognized the Ukrainian National Republic and its right to independent action. The Rada, within earshot of the Russian guns across the Dnieper River, proclaimed the complete independence of the Ukrainian

National Republic on January 22, 1918. Representatives of the National Republic participated in the signing of the peace treaties at Brest-Litovsk; the central powers recognized the independence of the Ukrainian nation and helped Ukrainians clear the Bolshevik army from their lands. On April 29 Mykhaylo Hrushevsky was elected president of the Ukrainian National Republic.

Despite this tremendous progress in erecting the tools of a stable and independent government, the Ukraine was still beleaguered by the Bolsheviks. By early 1920 the Ukraine was once more in the throes of fighting—this time the civil war which was rampant in Russia after the Bolsheviks took over. The Ukraine was overrun and the forces of the Ukrainian National Republic were forced to withdraw in November 1920, a tragic ending for what should have been the beginning of a fine and glorious nation.

Once again Ukrainians fell victim to the harsh persecution of the Russians. The change in name to Union of Soviet Socialist Republics did not change the nature of the treatment which Ukrainians received, except perhaps to intensify the cruelties Ukrainians have had to endure. But atrocities beyond the realm of imagination have failed to diminish Ukrainian longing and struggles for independence. The memory of January 22, 1918, is carefully nurtured and the unfulfilled aspirations of Ukrainians everywhere will one day be realized.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, this is the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence and the world admires its constant fight to regain self-government and liberty which it has fought for so valiantly over the centuries.

Forty-nine years ago great joy was brought to millions of Ukrainians with the hope that victory had finally been won and that freedom to millions of Ukrainians would permanently be had after long generations of battling for independence. Unfortunately, one of its oldtime neighbors and enemies terminated this dream of self-government and today we find Ukraine under the tyrannical domination of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

Ukraine is located on the shores of the Black Sea and extends from the Carpathian Mountains to the Donets Basin and Kryvy Rih and Don River. This area comprises the richest and most productive soil in the world. Unlimited coal and iron deposits are in this section. By reason of the unlimited wealth in nature's soil and mineral deposits the Turks, Russians, and all of the powerful tyrants in history have sought to control Ukraine. It is the earnest hope of the people throughout the world that a nation which has fought for centuries for liberty will someday be rewarded with self-government and permanent peace.

When the Soviet Communists first invaded Ukraine after World War I, they were as much interested in plundering the people to secure grain and food as they were in capturing the country. The people resisted and the leaders of the nation fought to the bitter end to maintain their independence. After heroic resistance by the Ukrainian people, in 1930, came the Soviet order for compulsory

collectivism organization of all the land and products of the nation. Naturally this aroused tremendous opposition. In many places the Ukrainian people killed their cattle rather than turn them over and the general revolt against the Soviet tyrants was rampant among the farmers of the nation.

Thirty-seven years ago, Stalin and his henchmen inflicted their mandate of tyranny. This enslavement caused starvation to millions of Ukrainians and sent others into Soviet prisons and labor camps. The story of Ukraine since that time has been sad and sorrowful but to the everlasting credit of the Ukrainians throughout the world, their spirit and desires for freedom and independence still survives with the same intensity that it has back through the centuries. With the aid of free nations and the fact that millions throughout the world are rapidly learning the true facts about atheistic communism and its leaders, it is our hope that the day is not too far distant when internal rebellion behind the Iron Curtain, with the aid of freedom-loving people on the outside, will bring independence to the Ukrainian people and other satellite countries now under the Soviet tyranny.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, January 22, marked the 49th anniversary of the declaration of the independence of the Ukraine, and I wish to join my distinguished colleagues in the House in saluting these gallant people.

On January 1918, the government of Ukraine issued a proclamation of independence. Shortly thereafter, Ukraine was invaded by the Bolsheviks, and was incorporated into the Communist Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. The Iron Curtain was drawn across the afflicted Ukrainian nation.

Historic Ukraine is one of the largest countries in Eastern Europe and its inhabitants, more than 45,000,000 Ukrainians, are among the most numerous of all ethnic groups in that region. This fertile country has rightly been regarded as the breadbasket of Eastern Europe. Its hard-working people, a pillar of the Eastern European peasantry, have tilled their black soil tirelessly for centuries not only for their own well-being but also for their neighbors, and in recent decades for their heartless taskmasters in the Kremlin. The very fact that this extreme fertility of the land, with its rich natural resources, has roused the envy of the neighboring countries, has thus been a cause of the misfortunes of the Ukrainian people.

For some 300 years the Ukraine has been submerged in the Russian continent, and during all that time autocratic czars and tyrannical Communists have done their worst to suppress and eradicate what we in the West regard as the best Ukrainian traits: their desire for freedom, their boundless love for their homeland, their undying yearning for independence, and their readiness to sacrifice their all for the attainment of their national goal. Only once in the course of three centuries was there success in attaining that goal—that was in 1918. When the czar's autocracy was overthrown and Austria no longer ruled the western Ukraine, the Ukrainian leaders seized upon the occasion and pro-

claimed their national independence. That was done on January 22, 1918, the day on which the Ukrainian National Republic came into being, and a new day dawned for the Ukrainians.

That memorable day is a landmark in the recent history of the Ukraine, and so remains to this day, though Ukraine's independence vanished in 1920. The Republic thus established did not last long. Being surrounded by envious enemies, its days seemed to have been numbered soon after its birth. Finally, early in 1920 Communist Russians treacherously attacked and overran the country, then put an end to the independent Ukraine and incorporated it into the Soviet Union. Since then the Ukraine has remained a province of the Soviet empire, and the Ukrainians there have been fated to suffer under the unrelenting Soviet tyranny.

They have endured mass murder, wholesale deportations, brutal torture in slave labor camps, the destruction of their churches. Yet they have never abandoned hope of eventual liberation and the reestablishment of their land as a free, sovereign, and independent republic. Ukrainian patriots have engaged in continuous and valiant underground resistance. The fight goes on today to regain their independence and free way of life. The lamp of freedom still burns in the hearts of its people. It will not be extinguished and will blaze again, proudly and fiercely when liberation has been won.

Even though there has been considerable relaxation of the Kremlin rule there in recent years, the Ukrainians still suffer, and they still hope to attain their national goal.

This anniversary is an appropriate occasion to make known to the courageous people of Ukraine that we Americans are wholeheartedly dedicated to the cause of human freedom, and once again express our determination never to rest until freedom is restored to people now living under Communist captivity, or in the danger of being overrun by Communists.

On this, their independence day, I wish them luck and patience, and hope that soon the day will come when they can be free and independent to pursue their God-given right to live their lives without fear of oppression.

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I am proud and pleased to associate myself once again with the eloquent remarks of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood], who has articulated the cause of the Ukrainian people for so long in these Chambers.

It is appropriate that this country, founded on the principles of freedom and liberty for all, honor the courageous people of the Ukraine on this occasion of their 49th independence day.

The word "independence" must have a hollow ring in their ears today, but we in the free world can only be inspired by the example of these captive people who have continued their struggle against enslavement, and who, against hope, have surely believed in hope.

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, nearly a half century ago—January 22, 1918, to be exact—the Ukrainian nation declared its independence.

Today, the 45 million Ukrainians survive as the largest captive non-Russian nation both in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe.

The circumstances of history saw the Ukraine, in only 2 years—by 1920—fall victim to the so-called Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism stemming from the Russian Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Suppose, nearly 50 years later, we had the question of Ukraine independence before us rather than the question of South Vietnam independence?

Would we be going all out to save Ukraine freedom as we are to contain a Communist aggressor in South Vietnam?

There are those who feel that had we acted many years ago to save Ukraine independence—if we had moved then to halt the first wave of Russian conquest—we would have no Vietnam crisis today.

It is difficult to hazard a guess as to what the future might bring, but it is vital that we in the free world construct a real and sincere bridge of understanding with the captive people of Ukraine.

We must show by our deeds and our actions, not by mere words, that we shall not rest—we shall not be content—until the people of Ukraine once again govern themselves.

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, almost a half century ago, the Ukrainian people declared their land a free and autonomous republic. Today, we commemorate the 49th anniversary of this proclamation.

The flame of Ukrainian independence flickered for less than 3 short years, after which it was quenched by torrents of Russian bullets. Such has been the fate of the Ukrainian people for centuries. The annals of history tell us that they enjoyed freedom from the 9th to the 14th century, from 1648 to 1783, and once again from 1917 to 1920. How brief when one considers the span of recorded history.

Of most significance to us is their most recent relapse into colonial subjugation. I will not elaborate here on the persecution and exploitation they have suffered at the hand of Moscow. Suffice it to say that the Ukraine has been but one of many pawns in Russia's hegemonic global scheme. However, we must admire these people for their steadfast determination to regain nationhood.

As we recall that day of hope 49 years ago, let us be ever mindful of the unsurpassable Ukrainian spirit and pledge our support to its unrestricted revival.

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian people declared their land an independent nation for the first time in over 150 years. That glorious day brought to an end a most unjust period of subjugation, and the Ukrainians set themselves to the task of building a strong, self-sufficient country.

Freedom had not long been won when another wave of oppression hit the Ukrainian people. The Soviets, as the revolutionary inheritors of the Russian Government, reabsorbed the Ukraine into the land mass of Russia less than 3 years later. Not only were the hopes of a brave people shattered; the fruits of ethnic development were likewise de-

stroyed as the Soviets sought to centralize and communize their captive nations.

We Americans who appreciate and admire the colorful costumes, gay folk dances, and epic music of the Ukrainian-Americans often forget that the same expression of Ukrainian culture is censored, or at least restricted, in the Soviet Union. Yet this is only a minor form of deprivation when compared with the range of atrocities committed by the Soviets. Massive extermination, dislocation, and collectivization were decreed by Moscow whose whims were enforced by the militantly powerful Soviet army.

Today, the Ukrainians continue to cherish the memories of that short period of freedom. Their dedication to the revival of their homeland as a nation sovereign in the eyes of the world cannot be ignored. The Ukrainian spirit lives on, though it must be concealed. My heart goes out to these people, and I look forward to the day when their ideal of nationhood can spring forth from the bonds of tyrannical imperialism.

Mr. FARBERSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the celebration of Independence Day throughout free nations of the world is usually a time of great national rejoicing, of unbridled mirth, and limitless joy, for it is a time that one can share with his neighbors the happy knowledge of being free citizens, free to express opinions and to participate in the activities of their nation.

January 22, 1967, marks the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence. It is not, however, a day of rejoicing for Ukrainian citizens because the freedom they briefly shared was cruelly and abruptly snatched from their grasp. The sons and daughters of the Ukraine are left only with memories of a nation and an ideal for which they fought, and died.

There remains, within their hearts, the same burning hope that someday they shall regain the liberty lost to a ruthless aggressor. It is my hope that the Ukrainian Republic will again be able to take its place among the free nations of the world and once again become a reality to the Ukrainian people.

We sadly sympathize with the Ukrainians for the loss of their Republic and we take this opportunity to rededicate ourselves to the goal that every man, woman, and child on this earth has the irrevocable right to live, work, worship, and vote without the encumbrance of tyrants dictating the scheme of their lives.

It is the spirit of the Ukrainians that serves as a constant reminder of the essence of democratic desire and provides us with the reality that thousands of oppressed peoples in the world are living without the freedoms we take for granted every day.

Let us be reminded by their heroic vigilance, that the democratic way of life is not a stagnant rule of right but is a living process which requires daily exercise to insure its survival.

These brave people have not forgotten that the liberty they hold so dear has been denied to them, nor will they ever relinquish the hope of another Ukraina, reborn in freedom and liberty.

The cause of freedom does not die so easily that it may be stamped out by one twist of the oppressor's boot, for freedom

lives in the hearts of people despite the shackles of tyranny encircling their necks.

The Ukrainians have not lost their dedication to the cause of freedom and for that persistent spirit, we salute them.

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, a year ago the following words were quoted in this Chamber from His Excellency, the most Reverend Ambrose Senyshyn, O.S.B.M., archbishop and metropolitan of Catholic Ukrainians in the United States:

Whether it be the marking of independence day on January 22, the sponsoring of Captive Nations Week, or the recitation of a prayer in our American Congress, we remind the freedom-loving American people of our land and our governing authorities that there are still nations—among them the Ukrainian—who live in the slavery of an imperialistic Communist regime and, at the same time, we keep alive the hope of liberation for these people.

This we are doing again today, and I am grateful for this opportunity of joining my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood], in honoring the stalwart people of Ukraine whose long-sought independence of 49 years ago was so quickly wrenched from their grasp. It was on January 22, 1918, when the Ukrainians proudly proclaimed their independence for which they and their forebears had valiantly struggled for two and a half centuries. But it was a scant 2 years later when their jubilation was shattered by the victors of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Since then, Ukraine has suffered under Soviet totalitarianism, but the Communists have not been able to obliterate the eternal hope for freedom which lives in the hearts of the brave Ukrainian people.

It is, as Archbishop Senyshyn observed, to keep that hope alive, and to pledge anew our determination to help all subjugated people to attain their independence from enslavement, that we raise our voices today. I am sure that all other Americans join the more than million and a half citizens of Ukraine descent in this country in their prayers for the ultimate liberation of their millions of relatives and friends now under the cruel domination of their Red captors.

What happened in Ukraine less than five decades ago stands as a monument to why the United States is committed to helping others, such as South Vietnam today, to resist Communist aggression. The right of people must be protected, and where it has been abrogated as in the ancient nation of Ukraine, every possible assistance must be given toward restoring the opportunity for exercise of that right.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, the reality of the Iron Curtain as a barrier remains intact. It signifies a failure on the part of the Soviet system to reach its goals and to provide successful competition with the free world for the minds and loyalties of the people in captive nations behind that barrier.

That this is so can be clearly gathered from the fact that the desire for liberty and freedom still burns in the hearts and minds of over 40 million people in

Ukraine, the largest non-Russian nation behind the Iron Curtain and the second largest nation within the U.S.S.R. itself.

Today marks the 49th anniversary of the Ukrainian Independence Proclamation and we, as freedom-loving Americans who are imbued with an abiding sense of justice and equity, take full cognizance of this day and express our sympathy for the brave people of the Ukraine who proclaimed to the world their independence and tried to establish a republic. History has clearly shown that the United States has always sided with those who value liberty and freedom. Here in the capital of our own country, a very imposing statue of Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's poet laureate and national hero, was erected in 1964.

We well remember also that, unfortunately, the independence of Ukraine was only of a temporary nature. In 1920 the ruthless Red army overran that nation and compelled it to become a mere satellite of Russia and, in fact, a captive nation. Nor should it be forgotten that the Ukrainians are a distinct people with their own language, their own customs, their own traditions, their own history; and yet, they are held in bondage by the Reds—a veritable, large prison camp in their historic homeland.

Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians and people of Ukrainian descent in the United States celebrate this day in solemn observance in an effort to keep alive the undying spirit of their ancestral home.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that we in the United States must rededicate ourselves not only to the preservation of freedom but also to the restoration of freedom and liberty for those millions of our fellow human beings who have been engulfed in communism.

We Americans say to the stouthearted people of Ukraine—do not despair, keep up your fighting spirit against the unrelenting tyranny of Communist totalitarianism, for we join with you in your cherished hopes and fervent prayers that in the not-too-distant future your land will become a free and independent nation.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, Ukrainian Independence Day—January 22—is a sacred occasion on which all Americans and all men everywhere should commit themselves to deep reflection on the beauty and bounty of national independence.

Too often we think of nationalism solely in terms of its possible perversions—in terms of colonialism and imperialism, provinciality and chauvinism, even racism and murder. Exaggerated or perverted nationalism can have these faces, certainly. And certainly in a world where nationhood has proliferated these faces must be remembered well.

Mr. Speaker, we err seriously if we do not recall just as vividly the creative force for good that surges forth from a national spirit rightly conceived and rightly directed. We Americans can claim and boast of such spirit.

But there are other peoples that have been tested at least as much and possibly more than we, that have also ignited the watchfires of liberty—illumi-

nation by which each nation of good will can and should be guided.

After nearly four centuries of freedom followed by two more centuries of foreign subjugation, the Ukrainian people regained their independence on January 22, 1918, as a democratic republic. Though Soviet enslavement replaced czarist domination shortly thereafter, what was accomplished that day can never be undone. What was accomplished that day lives on as an inspiration to freemen everywhere, and particularly to those men whose fettered bodies sustain and succor free minds.

So long as there is a Ukraine—and there always will be—and so long as there is a Ukrainian Independence Day—and there always will be—no force on earth can consume any nation or any national culture anywhere.

And so long as corrupt political power can decay—and it always will—the cherished hopes of today are the promises of tomorrow.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in commemorating Ukrainian Independence Day, marking the 49th anniversary of the Ukraine's declaration of sovereignty.

As history shows us, this independence was short-lived, for in 1920 the Soviet Government of Russia snuffed out the free Ukrainian nation and reduced it to the status of a constituent state of the U.S.S.R.

This deed shocked the world, denying as it did the right of self-determination of peoples. The memory of it even 49 years later causes burning indignation and sorrow in loyal sons of the Ukraine.

These men of courage and strong conviction still hold firm to the vision of their homeland independent and free to chart its own national course.

But more than that, theirs is a real concern for the people of the Ukraine, for their welfare and their political freedom and progress.

We must never forget that nations are simply collections of individuals, persons like you and me, who have similar needs, wants, and desires.

This is the belief on which the administration has based its policy of "building bridges" to the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

This policy recognizes that we truly assist these people, not by making a battleground out of their homeland, but by showing them that the world does present successful alternatives to the bleak existence which has been forced upon them.

As an American, I firmly believe that we have a powerfully attractive and revolutionary idea as the underlying foundation of this country: the idea of the dignity and worth of the individual man.

We can and we must communicate that idea to peoples everywhere.

To do so, however, we must open channels of dialog; we must be able to break through the walls of silence and control which regimes attempt to erect around their people.

At the present time our activity for a better understanding among peoples is limited to efforts of the Voice of America

and Radio Free Europe, cultural and educational exchanges, and distribution of periodicals.

Yet we could be doing more. One way, certainly, would be through increased trade. For that reason the administration has proposed the East-West Trade Act. Hopefully this needed measure will be passed before the end of the current session.

But this must not be our only avenue of approach to the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. We must apply our creative energies to developing and expanding new points of contact between ourselves and those forced to live under communism.

If we are successful in carrying out our objectives, the ultimate result must be greater freedom for the people of the Ukraine and the other national groups of Eastern Europe. This is the goal to which we must earnestly rededicate ourselves upon this the anniversary of Ukrainian independence.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, this week we pause again to commemorate the proclamation of independence and sovereignty of the Ukraine.

Fifty years ago the Russian Bolshevik Revolution swept Eastern Europe crumbling the Russian Empire. But rather than bringing freedom and independence it brought new tyrannical power which it extended over neighboring non-Russian nations.

The independence declared in January of 1918 as a result of the Ukrainian National Revolution lasted only a few short years before Soviet forces reoccupied the country, bringing an end to self-determination and exposing the high-sounding slogans Bolshevik revolution for the tyranny it was then and remains today.

It is more than a mere gesture that we pause this week to observe this event. It is a sober reminder of the unfinished work which is the responsibility of all freemen. The events of those years almost a half a century ago are also a lesson of history that should remain fresh in our minds.

While the methods employed by Soviet leaders today and the weapons they used then may differ, their actions clearly demonstrate that their objectives have not changed. In Korea or Cuba, Latin America or Vietnam, Communists under the guise of "proletarian revolution" still undermine the self-determination of nations and the freedom of individuals. It may be aggression or subversion or the arrest of a Mr. Kazan-Komarek, but the assault on the dignity of nation and individual continues.

The pride and courage of the people of the Ukraine is a source of inspiration in our struggle. We commemorate here today much more than an event. We honor a steadfast people and their undying love of freedom. And we pledge to those people, as we pledge to freedom-loving people throughout the world, our continuing efforts in behalf of the ideals which were common to both the American Revolution and the Ukrainian Revolution.

Today on the battlefields of Vietnam

young men give their lives to prevent the further spread of Communist tyranny, and in other parts of the world Americans work to strengthen other nations so that they may withstand other assaults upon their own freedom.

But merely to resist and react is not enough. Defense of those who are free while others are denied their liberty is only half the battle. The struggle for liberty must have an offense as well as a defense.

I have sponsored a resolution along with many of my colleagues to create a Committee on Captive Nations. This committee would have the important and challenging tasks of developing policy that would lead to the liberation of the captive nations. Its objective would be to bring back to the free world the people of the Ukraine and those under the yoke of tyranny throughout the world. Creation of a Committee on Captive Nations would enable us to turn more attention to this vital task and serve notice to the world that we in Congress and the people of the United States do not shrink from this unfinished task, and that we recognize we cannot fully be free ourselves until in every corner of the world every man can also breathe the fresh air of freedom.

Mr. Speaker, it is an honor and the privilege of a freeman to be able to pay these few words of tribute to the people of the Ukraine on this 49th anniversary of their independence. I look forward hopefully to the day when the people of the Ukraine may enjoy this same privilege of freedom, that they knew so briefly 49 years ago, once again.

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, Ukrainians around the world commemorated the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day. In support of the eventual restoration of that independence, I would like to pay tribute to the Ukrainian people today.

The Ukrainian tradition is rich in culture, spirit, and patriotism. We Americans who fought so resolutely for our own independence should be appreciative of Ukrainian aspirations for national fulfillment.

History has been unjust to the Ukraine, allowing it only 3 years of complete and unrestricted freedom within the last two centuries. The chains of Russian imperialism were temporarily released between 1917 and 1920, only to be refastened by the new Communist regime which had overturned its equally tyrannical predecessor, the czarist regime.

The taste of independence was sweet but brief. Subsequent attempts to develop culturally, economically, and politically along Ukrainian lines have been systematically opposed by Moscow. The underground Ukrainian Insurgent Army—UPA—has served as a menace to Moscow's decrees for communization and Russification of the Ukraine. However, the Soviets have taken brutal revenge against the Ukrainians for their resistance. UPA activities were answered by manmade famines, purges, and displacements.

Today, Ukrainian opposition and creativity are condemned. But the fervor for

and dedication to national ideals that constitute the Ukrainian essence cannot be eradicated. Behind the silence of the Soviet press, we are confident that the inspiration and heritage of the Ukrainian literary spokesman for freedom, Taras Shevchenko, still have the same deep meaning as he so intensely expressed in his poem, "My Legacy":

When I shall die, pray let my bones
High on a mound remain
Amid the steppeland's vast expanse
In my beloved Ukraine;
That I may gaze on mighty fields,
On Dnieper and his shore,
And echoed by his craggy banks
May hear the Great One roar.
When from Ukraine that stream shall bear
Over the sea's blue hills
Our foemen's blood, at last shall I
Forsake the fields and hills
And soar up to commune with God
In His eternal hall.
But till that Day of Liberty—
I know no God at all.

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, 49 years ago last Sunday a new nation—the Ukraine—joined the community of free nations. The people of the Ukraine in joyfully announcing their independence at that time believed, like much of the world, that the Bolsheviks sought freedom for all the peoples of the Russias. In 2 short years, however, the Ukraine, the largest non-Russian nation in Eastern Europe, was to learn the real and vicious meaning of communism and its brand of colonialism. Pillaged, looted, murdered, and transported by the hundreds of thousands to the frozen wastes of Siberia, the Ukrainians indeed learned the first bitter lesson in the school of communism. And is it not ironic that even now as we mark the short-lived freedom of that country, the Communist spoilers of that freedom call us warmongering colonialists?

The religious persecution, economic exploitation, and genocide that went on in the Ukraine in the name of communism was not a short-lived thing. A decade later in the 1930's more than 30 archbishops and bishops of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church were murdered along with several thousand monks and priests as the Communists moved to stamp out organized religion. In 1932 6 million Ukrainian farmers were intentionally starved to death as the Communists sought to collectivize the rich, fertile farms of the area. During World War II both the Communists and Nazis slaughtered millions of Ukrainian patriots. It is interesting to note, Mr. Speaker, that this area which the Soviets say is an integral part of their country continued a guerrilla warfare against the Red army and secret police all the way into the early 1950's. The end of the war saw the Communists once again at the business of trying to indelibly stamp the Ukraine into their mold. In 1946 Moscow ordered the destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and only one of its 12 bishops survived the purge which also took the lives of several hundred priests and other Catholic religious. More than 6 million Catholics were denied their religion and forcibly subordinated to Russian Orthodoxy.

These are just a few examples of what it means to be a captive nation—a victim of Communist colonialism. Is it any wonder then that the United States opposes such action by Communists in the Far East and supports President Johnson in his statement that we will do everything possible to insure "the right of each people to govern themselves and to shape their own institutions"?

Mr. Speaker, this year we will see a mammoth propaganda barrage pour from the Kremlin as it tries to sanctify the 50th anniversary of the Russian revolution. Let us, as we wade through this diatribe, remember the Ukraine and the other captive nations and place the Communist revolution in full perspective.

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, since 1914, the colonial empires of the European powers have melted away under the impetus of the national independence movements which have occurred throughout the world. Of these former empires, only one remains intact. The Soviet Union has succeeded in perpetuating the hold of the czarist Russian Empire on its many subject peoples. Today, of the nationalities which broke away from Russian control in 1918, only Finland and Poland have been able to maintain an independent existence.

January 22, 1967, marks the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. For a brief period, from 1918 to 1920, the Ukraine stood against a host of enemies including the Russian Bolsheviks, the Russian White armies, and the Germans. Finally, in 1920, the fledgling state fell under the weight of Red army invasion. Ukrainian independence was dead.

The vision of national independence survived, however. In Poland, during the 1920's and 1930's, nationalist organizations sprang up to keep the idea alive. When Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, it appeared that a free Ukraine would once again come into being, as over 200,000 Red army troops of Ukrainian origin defected into the German Armed Forces. Unfortunately, the German attitude on this issue differed very little from the Soviet view; and once again, Ukrainian aspirations were frustrated.

The final armed struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence began in 1944, when the 50,000-man Ukrainian Insurgent Army—UPA—began what developed into a 12-year guerrilla war against Soviet forces. Several times during this period, the Soviets boasted that they had crushed the insurgents; but on each of these occasions, the UPA responded by resuming the fight. We know that in October and November 1956 during the Hungarian uprising, Ukrainian partisans launched strong attacks on Soviet convoys moving into Hungary and blew up a number of troop trains.

January 22 serves to remind us of this struggle. It also reminds us that the problem of self-determination in Europe will not be solved until the Ukraine and the other non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union receive the right to determine their own future. We can

only hope that such a day will soon dawn in Eastern Europe.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, freedom—like hope—springs eternal in the human heart. Men were born to be free, and nations composed of freemen were intended to govern themselves and shape their own institutions. Independence, once known, is never forgotten. Tyranny, once imposed, is never accepted. The saga of the heroic Ukrainian people is the epitome of such truth.

Today, the Ukrainian people, under Soviet Russian domination, are not free and cannot enjoy the accretments of freedom, because the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, contrary to its high-sounding slogans and objectives, was a fraud. Not only did it fail to bring freedom to the Russian people, but it extended its tyrannical power over Ukraine and other non-Russian nations which had adopted the principles of national self-determination and declared their independence after the fall of Russian Czarism.

Forty-nine years ago, on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian Central Rada proclaimed the full independence and sovereignty of the Ukraine. Forty-eight years ago, on January 22, 1919, the Western Ukrainian National Republic, including the provinces of the Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovina, were united by the act of union with the Ukrainian National Republic into one, independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people. Two years later, after Soviet forces succeeded in reoccupying Ukraine in the summer of 1920, the Treaty of Riga between Communist Russian and Poland put an end to the Ukrainian National Republic.

As a result, eastern Ukraine was made a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic under a Ukrainian Communist government. Western Ukraine was ceded to Poland, and Bukovina and part of Bessarabia to Rumania, and Carpatho-Ukraine to Czechoslovakia, of which they were part until the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

The Ukrainian National Revolution, which brought about the rebirth of the modern Ukrainian state, engendered and developed Ukrainian nationalism and the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people. Although the true Ukrainian state has been destroyed, the Ukrainian national revolution lives on in the hearts and minds of the Ukrainian people.

In theory, Ukraine is an independent state. In fact, Ukraine is a colony of communist Russia. The so-called Ukrainian government in Kiev is a puppet government imposed upon the Ukrainian people by the ruling Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. Ukraine has no separate army, no separate foreign, financial, or economic policy. Ukraine is a colonial dependency of Communist Russia. Her 44,600,000 people are captives of and live in subjugation to the U.S.S.R. While the Soviet oppressors of Ukraine are doing everything possible to give the impression to the world that the Ukraine is not a captive nation, and that it is, in fact, a "sovereign and independent" state which may secede from the U.S.S.R. of its own volition, the Ukraine is, in ac-

tuality, a submerged and captive nation—a victim of Communist aggression.

We are assembled here today not only to commemorate Ukrainian Independence Day, but to salute the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Founded in 1940, this patriotic group has become a powerful advocate of freedom and independence for Ukraine. I am impressed by the overall objective of UCCA which is to support the U.S. democratic form of government, and to enlist the support of the United States and all other free nations of the world for the freedom and independence of Ukraine, and other captive countries. I count it a privilege to join Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson in lauding UCCA for its dedicated work for the preservation of freedom at home and the establishment of liberty in Ukraine and in other captive nations.

This historic commemoration should serve three essential purposes today. First, it should serve to illustrate dramatically that no form of tyranny shall ever curb men's craving for freedom. The light of freedom has shone and is shining in the darkness of oppression and that darkness has never snuffed it out.

Second, it gives us a propitious opportunity to join our colleagues in recording our support for the creation of a Special Committee on Captive Nations which has been introduced in this Congress as House Resolution 14 and House Resolution 15. In the exercise of the stewardship of our freedom it may well be our responsibility to provide the climate and atmosphere which can feed that dim light of freedom burning in darkness within all captive nations. Every effort should be made to give life to the hope of freedom burning in the hearts of captive peoples throughout the world.

Third, it gives us a chance to examine the supposedly more relaxed atmosphere in our dealing with Soviet Russia. Are we to forget that millions of people are still enslaved by that godless government? Is it in the best interest of present day diplomacy to forget that the Soviet Union has vowed to bury us? Are we to build the bridges to the East which for some of our own citizens and for many of our captive friends have been nothing more than one-way streets?

The fact that the Russian bear occasionally cries "peace" does not necessarily mean that peace is forthcoming. Perhaps we should read again Rudyard Kipling's poem about the bear that walks like a man:

When he stands up as if pleading, in wavering, man-brute guise;
When he veils the hate and cunning in his little eyes;
When he shows as seeking quarters, with paws like hands in prayer,
That is the time of peril—the time of the true of the Bear!

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Flood] in commemorating today the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence.

Today, while we are preoccupied with a struggle being waged by South Vietnamese and U.S. forces in the jungles and rice paddies and cities of Vietnam, we pause to remember the fate of another people—who also struggled, who lost, but who have not given up hope. January 22 was the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, an independence proclaimed in 1918, only to be lost again in 1920.

For over 300 years, the people of the Ukraine had suffered as a divided nation under the role of Russian czars. When the czarist regime crumbled during 1917, the long-awaited opportunity for independence came. A group of Ukrainian patriots declared their intention to seek independence in December 1917, and declared it achieved on January 22, 1918. The newly independent Ukraine was a war-torn country, surrounded by aggressive and feuding neighbors. The preservation of independence was to prove impossible. The Red army invaded the Ukraine in the spring of 1920. In 1923, the Ukraine was made a constituent republic of the Soviet Union, making the Ukrainians among the first victims of a new imperialism.

The Ukraine experienced no respite during World War II. The country again became a battlefield for the contending forces of East and West. The Soviets withdrew only to be replaced by other cruel masters—the Nazis. Following World War II, Soviet authority was reasserted, and tightened. Cruellest of ironies, the Ukrainians, on Soviet insistence, were given a delegation to the United Nations. But this delegation is a sham. The facade of independence cannot disguise the ugly fact of subservience.

With a population of more than 45 million, the Ukraine has a territory which exceeds in area that of several Western European nations combined. The Ukraine is rich in human and material resources, its history and culture are more than a thousand years old. In an era which has seen the rise of many new nations, some of them throwing off colonial bonds after long periods of subjugation, is it not a singular injustice that the Ukrainians, along with their neighbors in Eastern Europe, continue to be subject to exploitation by the worst colonial system of modern times?

Today, as we fight in southeast Asia on behalf of a small, brave people striving to maintain its freedom and independence, let us not forget that there are many areas of the world where the cause of liberty has yet to prevail, and that we must not relax our vigilance or abandon our struggle until that cause has prevailed.

Mr. Speaker, how can we best observe and commemorate Ukrainian Independence Day? I recommend that we in Congress, first, set up a Special Committee on Captive Nations; second, reject the President's scheme to subsidize the Soviet Union and East European dictatorships through trade concessions; third, have open and fair hearings on the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Consular Convention; fourth, hold a full congressional debate on U.S.-U.S.S.R. policies; and, fifth, use every

means available, including the Voice of America, to expose the fraudulent Russian Bolshevik revolution, which the Russians are using this year in a massive propaganda drive.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include as part of my remarks, "Facts About Ukraine and the Ukrainian People," published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, N.Y., on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian national revolution:

FACTS ABOUT UKRAINE AND THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION

The year 1967 marks the 50th anniversary of the great revolutionary upheaval in Eastern Europe. In 1917 the far-flung Russian empire met its inevitable doom, and its fall unleashed a series of national revolutions which swept the enslaved non-Russian nations and brought them long-awaited freedom and national independence. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy also crumbled under the impact of ethnic and nationalist desires for freedom and independence.

The Ukrainian National Revolution, in contrast to the Russian Revolution, was very much like the American Revolution of 1776, inasmuch as its overall objective was a free and independent state of the Ukrainian people, just as the American Revolution sought freedom for the 13 colonies which refused to live under colonial subjugation.

Today the Ukrainian people, under Soviet Russian domination, are not free and cannot enjoy the blessings of freedom and independence, because the Russian Bolshevik Revolution, contrary to its high-sounding slogans and objectives, was a fraud. Not only did it fail to bring freedom to the Russian people, but it extended its tyrannical power over Ukraine and other non-Russian nations which had adopted the principles of national self-determination and declared their independence after the fall of Russian Czarism.

Ukraine is the largest and, economically, most important of the non-Russian nations now held captive in the USSR. Consequently, a short survey of its past and present history is in order so that the true status of Ukraine should not be belocled by the propaganda which Moscow is now disseminating throughout the world in observing what it calls the "great proletarian revolution."

GEOGRAPHIC POSITION—AREA AND POPULATION

Generally speaking, the Ukrainian ethnic territory extends between 43°20' and 53° north latitude and 20°30' and 45° east longitude. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic lies between 44°20' and 52°20' north latitude and 20°5' and 40°15' east longitude. Ukraine is located in the southeastern corner of Europe. It borders with Romania and Hungary to the southwest, Poland to the west, Byelorussia to the north and Russia to the north and southeast. It is bordered by the Black Sea in the south.

According to Ukrainian ethnographers (cf. *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*), the Ukrainian ethnic territory embraces 289,000 square miles and has a population (1959) of 49 million. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which does not encompass all the Ukrainian ethnic territory, comprises 232,000 square miles and a population of 41,869,000, according to the Soviet population census of 1959. On January 1, 1964, Ukraine had a population of 44,600,000 people, of which number Ukrainians constituted 77 percent, Russians 17 percent, with the remaining 16 percent consisting of various

national minorities: Jews (1,025,800), Poles, Germans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Romanians and Tatars.

As mentioned, over 56,600 square miles of Ukrainian ethnic territory are outside the political borders of the Ukrainian SSR, specifically: in Russia (the regions of the Belgorod, Kursk, and the Voronezh Oblasts, as well as regions in the Don and Kuban areas), Byelorussia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. At least 7,500,000 Ukrainians are now living outside the compact Ukrainian ethnic territory.

Religion: The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians, that is, 76 percent, are Orthodox, 13.5 are Catholics of the Eastern Rite, 2.3 percent are Jewish, and 8.2 percent are Protestants, Baptists, Mennonites and Moslems.

HISTORY

Ukraine has had three distinct periods of national statehood and independence:

- a) the first period of national statehood when Ukraine, known as Kievan Rus, was a powerful state in Eastern Europe, lasting from the IXth to XIVth centuries;
- b) the Kozak period of Ukrainian independence, from the middle of the XVIIth century to the end of the XVIIIth century;
- c) the third (modern) period, beginning with the fall of the Russian empire and the establishment of the Ukrainian Central Rada in March, 1917, and ending in 1920.

THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVOLUTION

The fall of Russian Czarism was the signal for bursting enthusiasm throughout the whole of Ukraine; despite the systematic attempts of the Russian government to suppress Ukrainian ideals and aspirations, the dream of freedom and independence had survived. On March 17, 1917 the Ukrainian Central Rada was established in Kiev under the presidency of Prof. Michael Hrushevsky, Ukraine's foremost historian.

Within a period of 10 months the Rada, through a series of important acts, led Ukraine through the turbulent period, establishing first an autonomous state and then a full-fledged independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people.

Between March and October, 1917 the Rada had to deal with a weak and ineffective Russian Provisional Government under Alexander F. Kerensky who refused to accept or recognize the independence of Ukraine. The Rada issued in the period its two *Universals*, one on June 23, and the second on July 16, 1917, whereby it announced that Ukraine was to become an autonomous state, which was agreed to by the Kerensky government. It swiftly organized the Ukrainian national army, established Ukrainian schools, introduced Ukrainian judicial and administrative systems, prepared a Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, provided vast autonomy for the national minorities of Ukraine and won recognition by a number of foreign states.

On November 20, 1917, after the Bolshevik coup in Petrograd, the Rada issued the Third *Universal* whereby it proclaimed Ukraine to be the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR). While trying to secure recognition from the new Russian Soviet government, the Ukrainian Central Rada maintained its troops on the front against the armies of the Central Powers. Lenin and Trotsky, while paying lip-service to national self-determination, were sending Communist agitators into Ukraine in order to prepare a Communist takeover of the country. When these efforts did not bring the desired results, the Soviet government officially recognized the Ukrainian government. In a note, dated December 17, 1917, the *Sovmarkom* (Soviet of People's Commissars) stated:

"The Soviet of People's Commissars of the Russian Republic recognizes, without any

limits or conditions, and in all respects, the national rights and independence of the Ukrainian Republic. . . . (Cf. *Organ of the Provisional Government of Workers and Soldiers*, No. 26, December 20, 1917, Petrograd.)

At the same time the Russian Soviet government sent an ultimatum to the *Rada*, demanding, among other things, that the armed Communist bands be stationed in Ukraine. When the *Rada* rejected the ultimatum, Lenin and Trotsky launched armed aggression against Ukraine. For over 4 months the Ukrainian armies had to wage a defensive struggle against the Soviet Russian invaders who were thrown out of Ukraine in April, 1918.

Meanwhile, the *Rada* issued the Fourth Universal on January 22, 1918, by which the full independence and sovereignty of Ukraine were proclaimed. Subsequently, on February 9, 1918 Ukraine concluded a Peace Treaty with the Central Powers in Brest Litovsk, by which act it received full-pledged recognition from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, which powers also provided military assistance to Ukraine against the Russian Bolsheviks. France and Great Britain also granted *de facto* recognition of Ukraine.

From April to November, 1918 Ukraine was under the monarchist government of *Hetman* Paul Skoropadsky, and in 1919 under the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic, headed by Simon Petlura.

On November 1, 1918 Western Ukraine (formerly under Austria-Hungary), proclaimed its independence and was forced to wage a defensive war against the newly-born Poland which coveted this Ukrainian ethnic territory as its "own." On January 22, 1919 the Western Ukrainian National Republic, including the provinces of Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovina, were united by the Act of Union with the Ukrainian National Republic into one, independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people. The united Ukrainian Republic had to wage a gallant war against the Red and White Russians (Denikin) in the East and the Poles in the West, alone and unaided. In 1920 a military alliance between Poland and Ukraine was formed by Pilsudski and Petlura, and the combined Polish-Ukrainian forces occupied Kiev for a brief period. Eventually the Soviet forces succeeded in reoccupying Ukraine in the summer of 1920.

In March, 1921 the Treaty of Riga between Communist Russia and Poland put an end to the Ukrainian National Republic.

The greater part of Ukraine, i.e. Eastern Ukraine, was made a Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic under a Ukrainian Communist government; Western Ukraine (Galicia and part of Volhynia) was ceded to Poland, and Bukovina and part of Bessarabia to Romania, and Carpatho-Ukraine to Czechoslovakia, of which they were part until the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

The Ukrainian National Revolution, which brought about the rebirth of the modern Ukrainian state, engendered and developed Ukrainian nationalism and the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people. Although the true Ukrainian state has been destroyed, the Ukrainian National Revolution lives on in the hearts and minds of the Ukrainian people.

PRESENT STATUS

Since 1923, Ukraine proper has been a member of the Soviet Union as one of its "equal and sovereign constituent republics." In theory, Ukraine is an independent state. It became a charter member of the United Nations in San Francisco, in April, 1945, and to this day remains a member of the U.N. and maintains its permanent mission to this international body.

Internally, Ukraine is a colony of Communist Russia. The so-called Ukrainian government in Kiev is a puppet government im-

posed upon the Ukrainian people by the ruling Communist Party of the USSR. The Communist Party of Ukraine is also a subservient adjunct to the Russian Communist Party, and takes its orders from the latter without protest or dissension. Although Ukraine is a "sovereign republic" it has no separate army, foreign policy, its own financial nor economic policy. Ukraine is a colonial dependency of Communist Russia.

PERSECUTION AND OPPRESSION

There is no exaggeration in stating that of all the captive nations languishing in Soviet communist slavery, Ukraine has suffered the longest.

The record of Russia's inhuman treatment and persecution in Ukraine is matchless in all the history of mankind. Since 1920 Ukraine has endured persecution, mass murders amounting to full-scale genocide, religious and national persecution and economic exploitation.

In the 1930's Moscow liquidated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church by murdering over 30 archbishops and bishops, headed by Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, and several thousand priests and monks. Untold numbers of Ukrainian intellectuals were liquidated, while at least 6,000,000 Ukrainian farmers perished in the manmade famine in 1932-33 for their opposition to collectivization. During the German-Soviet war, both Stalin and Khrushchev ordered executions of Ukrainian patriots, political prisoners and other Ukrainians fearing their disloyalty to the Soviet regime. How the Ukrainians regarded their Russian oppressors is demonstrated by the fact that over 2 million Ukrainian soldiers from the Soviet armies deserted to the German lines in 1941; and several thousands of them joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), a powerful Ukrainian underground resistance movement which fought against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks in Ukraine; the UPA continued its anti-Soviet resistance well into the early 1950's, during which time some 35,000 KGB and other Soviet security troops and agents were killed by the UPA. In 1946 the Kremlin wantonly destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine: of 11 Ukrainian Catholic bishops, only Metropolitan Joseph Slipy survived (released in 1963, upon direct intervention by Pope John XXIII, he was made a cardinal and now resides in Rome); hundreds of Ukrainian Catholic priests were killed or exiled, while some 6,000,000 Ukrainian Catholics were forcibly subordinated to Russian Orthodoxy. Khrushchev himself stated at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party in February, 1956, that "Stalin had wanted to deport all Ukrainians, but there were too many of them and there was no place to which they could be deported."

The fate of the Ukrainian people evoked world-wide indignation, and many governments expressed their concern over the inhuman treatment of the Ukrainians by Communist Russia.

ASSASSINATION OF UKRAINIAN LEADERS ABROAD

One of the old and tested methods of destroying Ukrainian leaders, deemed dangerous to Russian rule in Ukraine, is the method of kidnapping and assassination of Ukrainian patriots in foreign countries by the NKVD, MVD and KGB. Over the decades the Kremlin had been doing just that:

a) In May, 1926, in Paris, a Soviet agent killed Simon Petlura, head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic, and the head of the Ukrainian government-in-exile;

b) In May, 1938, Col. Eugene Konovalts, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), was killed in Rotterdam, Holland by a time bomb placed in his trench coat by a Soviet secret agent, Valukh, (who

was later identified as a general in the Soviet security troops);

c) On October 12, 1957, Dr. Lev R. Rebet, a Ukrainian nationalist writer and theoretician, was killed in Munich, although his death had been described as caused by heart failure;

d) On October 15, 1959, Stepan Bandera, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), was killed under mysterious conditions, also in Munich.

Both murders were committed by Bogdan N. Stashynsky, a trained agent of the KGB, who was subsequently given the "Order of the Red Banner" by the Soviet government. (In August, 1961 Stashynsky defected with his German-born wife to West Germany and confessed to the killing of Rebet and Bandera, for which crimes he was tried and sentenced by the German Supreme Court to eight years at hard labor.)

ARRESTS OF UKRAINIAN WRITERS, ASSAULT ON UKRAINIAN CULTURE

Recently, Moscow renewed with reinforced vigor its traditional policy of the Russification of Ukraine, aiming at the cultural and linguistic genocide of the Ukrainian people. Although the Ukraine language is the official language of Ukraine, the Russian language is imposed everywhere as a "language of higher culture and international significance." In 1965 and 1966 a number of Ukrainian writers, poets, and literary critics were arrested and sentenced by the Communist courts in Ukraine. At least 30 of these Ukrainian intellectuals were reported arrested, tried and sentenced in such cities of Ukraine as Kiev, Odessa, Lviv, Lutsk, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk. Among them the most prominent are Ivan Dzyuba and Ivan Svitlychny, who have been accused of writing anti-Soviet works and of smuggling to the West the anti-Soviet works of another Ukrainian poet, Vasyl Symonenko, who died in 1963 at the age of 29. Extensive reports on arrests of Ukrainian writers appeared in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (April 1, 1966) and the *New York Times* (April 7, 1966). Protest letters by the Ukrainian Writers Association in Exile were sent to the International PEN, the European Community of Writers, and UNESCO. Similar protests were sent to the State Department by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

The extent of anti-Soviet and anti-Russian opposition and resistance is best demonstrated by the fact that Peter Shelest, secretary general of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and Alexander Korneichuk, top-ranking Communist writer and ideologist, recently warned the Ukrainian youth against listening to Western radio broadcasts and assailed the United States for its alleged support of Ukrainian "subversive nationalist elements," which they said were infiltrating Ukraine.

UKRAINE—A SUBMERGED AND CAPTIVE NATION

Despite the outward trappings of "independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ukraine is a captive and submerged nation. It is recognized as such by the U.S. Congress in its "Captive Nations Week Resolution," enacted on July 17, 1959, which stated as follows:

"... The imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, White Ruthenia, Rumania, East Germany, Bulgaria, mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Tibet, Cossackia, Turkistan, North Vietnam, and others. . . ."

Soviet oppressors of Ukraine are doing everything possible to give the impression to the world that Ukraine is not a captive nation, and that it, in fact, is a "sovereign and

independent" state, which may secede from the USSR of its own volition.

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

In the United States the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), founded in 1940, is a powerful advocate of freedom and independence for Ukraine. It is an American organization embracing over 1,200 Ukrainian American organizations, clubs, fraternal lodges, veterans and youth societies, women's and sports groups, as well as cultural, social, church and political organizations.

The overall objective of the UCCA is to support the United States democratic form of government, and to enlist the support of the United States and all other free nations of the world for the freedom and independence of Ukraine, and other captive countries. Its record for the twenty-five years of its existence is an outstanding one. For its dedicated work for the preservation of freedom at home and the establishment of liberty in Ukraine and in other captive nations, the UCCA has been lauded by four Presidents, namely: Presidents Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

The UCCA has been frequently a target of Communist assault and vituperation. For instance, *Komunist Ukrainy*, an official organ appearing in Kiev, in its February, 1966 issue, denounced the CIA, the Department of State, the FBI, a number of Ukrainian exile organizations in Europe, and the UCCA. If anything, these attacks on the Ukrainians in the free world indicate that the Russian Communist jailers of Ukraine are well aware of the corrosive effect that freedom can have on the bonds of the Ukrainians and other non-Russian nations in slavery.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, January 22, 1967, marked the 49th anniversary of the official declaration of independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. It is appropriate that we pause again to remember the fate which has befallen that proud people and to reflect upon the significance of their continued subjugation.

Today there are nearly 40 million Ukrainians descendent from Cossack communities which established themselves as self-governing, independent communities in the 17th century. From earliest times their rich lands were subject to the greedy incursions of their more powerful neighbors—Moscow, Poland, and Turkey. At length, Czar Peter I, of Imperial Russia, was successful in bringing the Ukraine and its peoples under Russian domination in 1709, and the struggle of Ukrainians to be free had begun.

Perhaps it might have ended there. Perhaps the independence-loving farmers and cultivators of the Ukraine might have lost their sense of national identity in the decades under Russian domination. If that had been the case we would not today be concerned with their fate. The fact is, of course, that Ukrainian nationalism did not wither under foreign domination; it grew. Ukrainian culture, different in so many ways from that of the Russian rulers, flourished.

The immortal Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko—1814-61—inspired the Ukrainians of his day never to give up in their fight to win their homeland back from Russian domination, and others such as Ivan Franko—1856-

1916—and Lesya Ukrainka—1872-1913—gave renewed voice to the yearning to be free.

It was a long wait for the millions of Ukrainians dreaming of an end to Russian rule, but, finally, in the turmoil that was the Russian Revolution they had their chance and they took it. After more than 200 years of Russian domination they threw off the foreign yoke and on that January day nearly a half century ago proclaimed themselves to be a free and independent nation. But, as we all know, that freedom was not to last. Russia, now a Communist state, attacked the young nation, and after a bitter 3-year struggle again forced her to yield to the domination of Moscow.

Again, as in the two centuries after Peter I, Ukrainian nationalism did not die. An underground insurgent force fought both the Nazis and the Communists in World War II and on June 30, 1941, Ukrainians again proclaimed themselves to be free and the struggle was reborn, a struggle which continues to this day.

Ukrainians throughout the world still feel the surge of spirit which has motivated them from their earliest days. Whether it be the 1,600,000 who have found their home in the United States or the 40 million who still remain in Communist-controlled Ukraine, they seek, and shall continue to seek that freedom which it is the inherent right of all men to share. All Americans, everywhere, share with these brave people that determination. And as it has not died in the centuries of subjugation to the present time, so it shall not die in the future.

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, countless Americans across the country joined with their fellow citizens of Ukrainian descent on January 22, 1967, to mark the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Ukrainian National Republic and the 48th anniversary of the act of union under which all Ukrainian ethnic lands were united into one independent and sovereign state. For 3½ years, the gallant people of Ukraine defended their independence against Communist Russia's onslaught, finally succumbing to superior military force. The spirit of these brave people has never been crushed, however.

Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, of Steele, N. Dak., president of the State branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., speaks for the cause of these people in these words:

The freedom-loving people of Ukraine have not accepted Soviet Russian domination and have been fighting for the reestablishment of their independence by all means accessible to them for the past 46 years.

During World War II the Ukrainian people organized a powerful underground resistance movement, known as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which fought not only against the Nazi regime, but against the Soviet security troops as well. Stalin and Khrushchev unleashed bloody persecution and reprisals against the Ukrainian people in the late 1940's, and it was Khrushchev himself who stated at the Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

in February, 1956, that "Stalin had wanted to deport all Ukrainians, but there were too many of them and there was no place to which they could be deported."

Relentless and harsh persecution of Ukrainians continued after the death of Stalin, and it continues now after the ouster of Khrushchev from the top leadership in the Kremlin, inasmuch as the Brezhnev-Kosygin duumvirate is bent on keeping the Soviet Russian empire intact and unified.

Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, nearly half a century has passed since the world witnessed the brief glory of Ukrainian independence. On January 22, 1918, the Ukrainians finally realized the culmination of their aspirations for liberty and dreams for national independence, which several centuries of Russian domination had prevented. Even though Ukrainian independence was officially recognized by the Bolsheviks, within 2 years the Russians had reconquered the Ukraine.

Despite the brevity of their liberty, despite long centuries of foreign domination, despite the anguish and despair of the Ukrainian people, their commitment to Ukrainian independence has never been destroyed.

During both periods of Russian domination the Russians have tried to incorporate the Ukraine, denying its people self-government and those basic rights considered inalienable in Western philosophy. At one point in Ukrainian history—in 1863—their Russian taskmasters even denied the Ukrainian people their own language. During both periods of Russian domination, the Ukrainians have been subjected to many atrocities, including mass executions and deportations.

The Soviet Union may through coercion continue to maintain the Ukraine in captivity for the present, but they will never succeed in controlling the Ukrainians' passions for freedom, liberty, independence, and national identity. The Ukrainians are not a submissive people; the history of their long struggle for independence is a testament to their unyielding, indomitable spirit. The Ukrainian poet laureate described that spirit as follows:

THE CAUCASUS

So likewise shall our spirit never die
Nor our dear freedom wholly vanquished lie.
Sooner may foemen hope to plough with glee
A meadow at the bottom of the sea
As chain the living soul with force uncouth
Or choke to death the vital word of Truth.
The glory of our God may not be rent,
The glory of the Lord Omnipotent.

Today we wish to express our deep respect for the Ukrainian people and add our fervent hope to theirs for their restoration of independence.

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my colleagues in honoring the courageous freedom-loving Ukrainian people as they commemorate the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day.

As Americans, proud of our own successful fight for independence, we share a common bond with all those who seek to determine their own destiny. Therefore, it is appropriate that we pause to remember the brave Ukrainian people

who keep the light of liberty glowing in the bleak world of captive nations.

Except for a brief period of freedom during 1918-20, the valiant Ukrainian people have been dominated by foreign powers since the 17th century. But that brief period, when the long frustrated hope of liberty became joyous reality, has served as an inspiration to Ukrainian peoples everywhere for the last half century. It was on January 22, 1918, in the aftermath of the Russian revolution, that the Ukrainian Parliament proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic as completely independent. The Ukrainian people tried hard to fashion their destiny; but, unfortunately, their gallant efforts were smashed within 2 years by the brutal Red army. All opponents of Soviet Russia were ruthlessly eliminated, and the independent Ukrainian Republic ceased to exist.

Since that time the hearts of the brave Ukrainian people burn brightly with the hope, once realized, that they will live again in freedom. We salute their courage and steadfastness of purpose, and sincerely hope their aspirations soon will be fulfilled.

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to be the guest speaker at the Ukrainian Independence Day program held Sunday, January 22, in the Irvington, N.J., High School to mark the 49th anniversary of the proclamation of independence by the Ukrainian National Republic. The memorable program was conducted by Dr. W. Huk, chairman, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., branch for Newark, Irvington, and vicinity.

Over 1,200 persons were in attendance to affirm their dedication to the cause of Ukrainian independence. Believing, as members of this great democracy, in the concept of individual freedom and liberty, Americans of all races join their good fellow citizens of Ukrainian descent in mourning the tragic fate of the captive peoples and in hoping for the restoration of sovereign independence that the brave Ukrainians so gloriously proclaimed 49 years ago.

I am honored to submit to the Congress the following protest resolutions adopted on this significant occasion by the Ukrainian Congress Committee, branch for Newark, Irvington, and vicinity.

The resolution follows:

PROTEST RESOLUTIONS OF UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, BRANCH FOR NEWARK, N.J. AND VICINITY

We, Americans of Ukrainian descent, of City of Newark and its vicinity, County of Essex, State of New Jersey, appeal to our President and his Secretary of State and to our legislative bodies, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, to raise their voices in defense of the recent ruthlessly persecuted Ukrainian culture by the Communist Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the so-called Ukrainian SSR, which is only the administrative region of the centrally ruled Soviet State. There an iron-clad assault on the culture and intellectual life of the Ukrainian people is presently going on with an intensified furor of the Russian chauvinism using the means of suppression of the Ukrainian language in the schools and press

and by means of arrests, imprisonments, sentencing and deportation of the Ukrainian writers, poets, and scholars, whose only guilt was writing and speaking Ukrainian and defending the Ukrainian culture against the mass harassment by the official Soviet Russification policy.

We ask our government to speak up in defense of the rights of the Ukrainians to develop their own culture in their home land by direct talks with the Soviet leaders and through the channels of the United Nations in the name of justice and humanity.

On this day of 22nd of January 1967, the Forty-Ninth Anniversary of the proclamation of the national independence of Ukraine and establishment of the Ukrainian National Democratic Republic in Kyiv, and the Forty-Eighth Anniversary of the unification of all Ukrainian lands and provinces into one national state, we take the liberty to remind our government and all its branches that the Ukrainian political sovereignty was then ruthlessly crushed by the Soviet government by means of military invasion and the incorporation of Ukraine by force into the USSR, giving it the Russian-marionette status of the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, where the Russians have ruled since and the Ukrainians being there the second ranked subjects of the Bolshevik regime.

On this commemorable anniversary, we take the liberty to remind our government that since that compulsory incorporation of the Ukraine our brethren and sisters there, have been continually exposed to persecution both physical and spiritual. The Soviet regime had but one end in mind and it was extermination of the Ukrainians as a separate nationality.

Genocide was practiced by the Soviets in Ukraine on a large scale. Mass arrests, mass imprisonments, mass deportations to distant parts of the USSR and mass executions, man-made famine in 1932-33 and ruthless suppression of Ukrainian language, folklore, writing, poetry and scholarship were the chief devices of the Soviet-Russian unceasing drive to "solve" the Ukrainian question, of which the present intensified Russification policy in the Ukrainian SSR is only a link in the long chain of Russian policy toward the non-Russian nationalities in the USSR in general.

We call to the attention of our government that the Russians did not hesitate to suppress also the religious life of the Ukrainian people which has been a factor in their intellectual and spiritual development as a separate nationality. Hundreds upon thousands of the faithful of the Ukrainian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Churches perished under the atheistic drive of the Soviet rulers, along with several bishops and thousands of clergy of both denominations.

We Americans of Ukrainian descent assert, that during the Second World War and thereafter the Ukrainian Insurgent Army fought for years against the Soviets to testify the will of the Ukrainian people to live a free and independent national life in the tradition of the 22nd of January 1918.

We recall the words of the great American, Abraham Lincoln, that no house divided against itself can long endure—half free and half slave. In the world of ours tyranny, persecution and colonialism must be abolished in order to save mankind from a catastrophe. Hence, we appeal to our government to speak up in defense of all those enslaved by the Soviet Russian colonialism.

DR. W. HUK,

Chairman.

VOLODYMYR HUERTYMAC,

Secretary.

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, the continued thaw in our relations in Eastern Europe and the spirit of accommodation which presently pervades United States-Russian affairs should not deflect us

from a continued interest in the captive nations.

Patriotism and nationalism still permeate the peoples of Eastern Europe, including the Ukraine. Today's seeming tranquillity and stability may be tomorrow's unrest and revolt.

We should not spurn the voices who call attention to the independence days of Eastern European nations, for events have proved them right on more than one occasion. For example, diplomats on both sides were unprepared for the October 1956 events in Poland and Hungary. Since that time, many experts have miscalculated the reversal of the liberal trend in Poland and have underestimated the rapidity of Rumania's political and economical transformation. The point is that we can benefit from a variety of view in Eastern Europe and particularly from giving a sympathetic audience to those most in tune with the enduring nationalism of oppressed people, such as the Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians, as much as any captive nation, have maintained their language, culture, and national spirit despite many, many years of Russian dominance. The people of Ukraine have never been truly afforded the right of self-determination. It behooves us, as responsible public officials, to call attention to the facts.

During this week of special attention to the situation in the Ukraine, I am pleased to join my colleagues in observing the 49th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day.

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, 49 years ago, after centuries of domination by foreign rulers, the people of the Ukraine overcame their oppressors and acclaimed their independence on January 22, 1918.

The democratic government constituted in the new Ukrainian Republic did its utmost to cope with the new state's difficult problems, but, having neither the manpower nor resources to defend itself successfully, it was overrun by the ruthless Red Army in 1920. Thus ended a brief 2-year period of independent existence for the Ukrainian people.

The oppressive Soviet domination has continued over the freedom-loving people of the Ukraine ever since. They have been robbed of their worldly possessions, and put to death by the thousands. They have been forced to work for their heartless taskmasters in the Kremlin under most abominable conditions, with no promise of restoration to their rightful place in the community of nations. Nevertheless, the thirst for freedom has not weakened among these wonderful people, and the spirit of resistance is as strong today as in generations past.

The more than 40 million Ukrainians under Soviet domination are afforded no opportunity to commemorate the anniversary of the winning of their short-lived freedom in 1918. Only we, who live in freedom and independence, can mark the day for them. We can express our concern over their present plight, and pray to God that soon again, they, and all oppressed people throughout the world, will be masters of their own destinies.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Roush). Under previous order of the House the gentleman from California [Mr. TUNNEY] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, the University of California will enter its second century of service to California and America within the next year. There are presently nine general campuses which represent a 400-percent increase in 8 years, and five more are being planned. There are 87,000 students enrolled in the university and including the Atomic Energy Commission funding, the budget is \$792 million.

But the accent has not been on size alone. The university currently has more Nobel laureates on its faculty than Russia has produced in its history. It has more members in the National Academy of Science than any other school in America. The American Council on Education last year called Berkeley the "best balanced, distinguished" graduate school in the United States. Seventy-five percent of the freshmen students there were rated, within the last month, after a national test, in the top 5 percent of college freshmen throughout the country.

It goes without saying that a university of this magnitude requires exceptional faculty members and administrators to allow it to continue its pursuit of excellence. It is also evident that men of this caliber are not attracted to a campus that sways with the winds of political change.

This great institution is now facing a time of crisis. It is being buffeted by storms which can have a lasting effect upon the quality of education and the standing of the university in academic circles for years to come.

Within a period of 3 weeks after his inauguration, Gov. Ronald Reagan proposed:

First. A tuition of up to \$400 for California students.

Second. A budget cut which would represent 10 percent less spending than last year; and

Third. Seemingly promoted the firing of Clark Kerr, the president of the University of California for the past 8 years.

Even if Governor Reagan did not intend it, and his adherents say he did not, the timing of the three events makes it appear that this was a political purge. Often it is not the intent of the protagonist which counts; what matters is the way the deed appears to the eyes of the world. What is believed becomes reality—what is fancied becomes fact.

The Press Enterprise of Riverside, Calif., cogently summed this up in an editorial of January 22, 1967.

Inevitably, the action taken Friday by the board will be interpreted as political purge

of the head of an institution which is supposed to be free of politics.

After all the denials are in, Governor Reagan's included, this interpretation will remain—and will remain difficult to argue against. The timing of the firing, so soon after the inauguration of a Governor who had campaigned against the way the university was being run, will not simply be dismissed as coincidence.

In the future, this impression of political interference should never be allowed to reoccur through similar actions by persons in power, either Democrats or Republicans. The impression of political interference which now exists, whether accurate or inaccurate, should be eradicated by a thorough explanation by the board of regents of their actions.

The financial needs of the university are ever expanding. This year the university programed a budget increase of approximately 15 percent over 1966. Not only has the Governor stated that the increase will be denied, he has asserted there must be a cutback of 10 percent from last year's expenditures.

The budget cut is placed in its proper short-sighted perspective when it is realized that enrollment is expected to increase by almost 10,000 next September which dictates the need for approximately 600 more teachers. This would call for a \$10 million increase in faculty salaries alone. Furthermore, Governor Reagan's new budget figure assumes income of up to \$20 million from tuition which certainly cannot be counted upon as a sure source of income unless the regents also like the principle of eliminating free higher education in California. It then robs Peter to pay Paul by taking \$22 million from the regents' special funds which are usually set aside for quality education purposes.

This action comes at the time of the year when the university is in the process of hiring 600 new faculty members. It has been reported that many prospective professors are already declining the offers, where they would have delightedly accepted before this month. If we fail to attract the best teachers, we will also fail to attract the best students. The fallout effects of lowering the standards of the university would be immense, if not incalculable.

Academic freedom is a modern term for an ancient idea. The struggle for freedom in teaching can be traced at least as far back as Socrates' eloquent defense of himself against corrupting the youths of Athens. When a president of a university is unable to make long-range plans because of an impending gubernatorial election, we will have political influence within the school which will pervade it to such an extent that academic freedom will be a hollow phrase echoed by the type of hollow man who would work under such conditions.

The great purposes of the university—to train and enlarge minds, to propose arguments and counterarguments, to irritate and conciliate, to be abrasive and stimulating—these will then be fulfilled at some other university.

The public will no longer send children to school believing that they will acquire wisdom through intellectual con-

flict, because that conflict will no longer prosper without the catalyst of reasoning dissent. If the university is allowed to start on the pathway of politics, it will ultimately reach the point where the best ideas are thought to be only the ones we agree with, and we will then lose this great forum for dispersal of innovative ideas.

When I mention academic freedom, however, I do not mean license to disobey laws and regulations. Students who do not abide by fair and just rules should be disciplined by the administration. The university should not have its purpose thwarted because a few miscreants mistake freedom for anarchy.

The idea of a tuition of up to \$400 in addition to the present fees, will have one foreseeable effect. It will make education relate to and depend upon income. Education will no longer depend upon ambition, intelligence, and perseverance, but additionally upon the size of your father's bank account. Where then will the children of low-income families go? They will go on and create another low-income family instead of being allowed to become a more productive member of society. Education bridges the gap between frustration and opportunity. The 2 million people in California who now live in families that make less than \$3,000 a year will lose the chance to have the children in those families receive the same education the wealthiest child in California receives. And let us not for a moment think that a tuition of up to \$400 will be the end of tuition. History shows tuition increases but never decreases. If the principle is established, if the idea is accepted, then what is wrong with \$500, or \$800, or \$1,000?

You just cannot treat a university as a normal budgetary expense item. It does not just absorb money. It multiplies it and returns it in many ways, tangible and intangible. For every dollar that is spent on a college student, the annual return to society once he has graduated will be between 13 and 25 percent. Each engineering graduate will be responsible for creating 40 new jobs. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, in talking about the large proportion of Government contracts awarded in California, said that, "we seek the best brains and we go where they are." Those brains have been attracted by the University of California. The university alone brings more than \$400 million in Federal research money into the State, and is responsible for most of the nuclear weaponry in America. A specific example of the economic drawing power of the university is the Irvine campus. Before the first building was constructed, 30 new industries established in that area because the school would be built there.

The leaders of the State, the regents, and the citizens of California cannot allow the university to become entwined in politics whether by fact or illusion. The damage done is irretrievable. The colloquy between the academic community, the public, and their elected representatives should begin anew in an atmosphere of rejuvenation and reason and not recrimination.

We are now able to enter an era when the University of California will be acknowledged throughout the world as the finest education institute, modern or medieval, that has ever been known. We should not let this promise be aborted because of political expediency. We owe our State too much for that.

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TUNNEY. I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. HANNA].

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from California [Mr. TUNNEY] on his remarks today in calling to our attention a matter which was of great import to the people of California. But I think this also impinges upon a concern that could be entertained by all of the people of the United States. I think he has rightfully focused attention in his presentation not upon the decisions that have been made in California but rather upon the methods and manner in which these decisions have been arrived at.

I think we all recognize that the policy that is not being sustained by fiscal support is a dusty policy and goes nowhere.

Those programs that are not undergirded by continued commitment of our resources die on the vine.

The policies on education are very important to our State and our Nation. They should not be dusty policies nor should they be allowed to die on the vine.

I think what we see here is that a distinction must be made between politics and government. Politics by its very nature rests too often upon expediency and it is too often directed to our short-term goals.

Government must rest upon statesmanship and it must be interested in long-term goals. There has to be a distinction between the goals and their attainment.

We can always cloak ourselves in the language of our goals and then abort those goals actually by the way we set about seeking to attain them.

We cannot say that because you have a good goal that, therefore, your program for attaining it is a good program.

I think this distinction must be made here.

I should say that insofar as goals are concerned, nobody can fault the Governor of the State of California nor any other political personage when he sets about getting a consensus and embarking upon a program to evolve ways of solving problems identified and described.

That is all great. There should be no sacred cows. All government institutions should be subject to criticism and to a good close look.

We cannot, however, make decisions without study and care and a full exposure of what is involved. We must weigh advantage against loss; short-term gains against long-term losses.

Now I am willing to concede that where you have spectacular growth you are going to have some inefficiency and some possibility of waste. That nearly always occurs. Certainly we have had dramatic growth in the university of our

State. But that does not mean that you can go in with a meat ax and solve what inefficiencies or waste as are found to be present. You had better jolly well find out whether it actually is present and where it is and how best to eliminate it, using as your guide what is consistent based upon the long-term facts.

Certainly, we do not solve State problems merely by stating a good policy, or by high resolve, or even with a good idea. As the gentleman pointed out in his presentation, California faces the risk of finding out, after the decision, that we can no longer continue to attract and retain the highest regarded scholars as our teachers. If we cannot continue to attract and retain the cream of the graduate students who are always out on the knife edge of new knowledge and new technology, are we going to be able to attract and retain that fine flow of inquisitive, vigorous young minds—even contented young minds as undergraduates? If these are things we learn, then certainly the quality of education is going to be seriously eroded.

I believe that this is the great problem in the State of California. It is not the personalities involved. It is the principles involved.

I believe it is also a very solemn fact that to a large extent the economic strength of the State of California rests upon its education. This has been true in the past, and it is true now, and it will continue to be true.

The fiscal investments that the people of California—or any State—make in their educational efforts—and in this day certainly in their higher education—will be clipped as coupons by all the other segments in their society.

I rhetorically posed the question on the floor of this House 4 years ago, when there was some talk about the flow of contract funds to the State of California, whether others would like to enjoy that same thing in their State, in their area? If so, then look at the performance of California. Look at the millions of dollars that Californians have been willing to put into their school programs—from the elementary through high school into the higher education, and special centers. Sure, there are defense industries in the bay area, but also there is the University of California. There is Stanford. Sure, there are great industries in Los Angeles, but also there is UCLA, and USC, and Cal Tech. There is the total investment by the people to make this potential a reality. If others would like to enjoy the rewards, let them make the investment.

It cannot be done overnight. It takes a long-term heavy commitment of funds to accomplish such things. This would certainly be a dark day for the history of California if we are going to turn back and fall to make the investment today that makes the future.

I would hope that what we have seen in California does not mark that kind of shortsighted political expediency that falls into the category of erosion of quality and the destruction and death of good policy, which would be going against good government, statesmanship, and long-term goals.

I thank the gentleman for extending me this courtesy.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TUNNEY. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman for the statement he has made and the gentleman from California [Mr. HANNA] for the statement he has made in connection with academic freedom. I am sure this is the principal purpose of the special order which has been secured for today.

I believe, however, there are two points that should be brought into the record which I noticed in the press today in connection with this matter.

First, Governor Reagan acknowledged that the timing of the firing of President Kerr was bad. He regrets this and he said this in the press conferences held yesterday.

Second, I read that Dr. Kerr had already obtained another position, apparently through the Carnegie Foundation, prior to the time he had been dismissed from the University of California. I do not know whether he was going to submit his resignation, or what the actual flow of events might have been, but apparently he had planned on leaving the university. This is a side issue, of course, but if the press report is true, this should be brought into the record.

Mr. TUNNEY. It was my understanding from the press report that this was a part-time and not a full-time job, and even if he had been president of the university, he would have been able to fulfill that part-time commitment in addition to his regular duties.

This is really not in point. The point I was trying to make was that we are attempting here to try to show that the University of California cannot be considered a political football.

The University of California must remain inviolate from the political pressures from any source, whether it be the "beatniks" in the student body or whether it be the political pressures of the normal political parties in California.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. I am certain all Members of this House on both sides of the aisle wish to agree on that type of statement, that our great university should be free from any political influence. This we want to guarantee in California as well as in other States.

Mr. TUNNEY. I thank the gentleman. It would certainly seem to me to be a terrible tragedy if in California we should give up the principle of free education at higher levels. It seems to me this is one of the most fundamental principles we have in our society, one of the most basic ethics that our forefathers had when they came and settled this country—that a person should be entitled in a public school to have free education, and it should depend upon his persistence, upon his ability, upon his drive, and not depend upon the size of his parents' pocketbook or the amount of money his parents are willing to spend.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. TUNNEY. I yield to my colleague from California.

Mr. MOSS. I should like to associate myself with the remarks the gentleman has made.

As a Californian, I find that I am disturbed and distressed over the developments at the University of California and also the threat which now appears to be poised against the entirety of a superlative system of higher education, a system which constitutes perhaps the greatest single asset possessed by the State of California, a system which has had incalculable value in aiding the development of the State.

No dollar that Californians have expended over the years has paid so richly in dividends, to the enrichment of the social, the cultural, and the industrial society of our State. It also has contributed significantly to the entire Western World, and I could go beyond that.

It is a system of free education, a system of higher education almost at the local community level in every area of the State.

I am old enough to have vivid recollections of each Governor of California back to the time of C. C. Young in the late 1920's.

This is the singular instance of a State administration launching a course of action which could, unless changed in course, do irreparable damage not only to education but also to the entire economy of the State of California.

Mr. TUNNEY. I thank the gentleman very much.

WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY THEY FIRST MAKE MAD

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ROUSH). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, during the Korean war a Senate subcommittee issued a report entitled "Korean War Atrocities," in which it was stated:

Communist massacres and the wholesale extermination of their victims is a calculated part of Communist psychological warfare.

Some time before the issuance of this report a House select committee investigating the Katyn Forest massacre in Poland in which the Soviets brutally murdered thousands of Poles in cold blood, stated:

This committee noted the striking similarity between crimes committed against the Poles at Katyn and those being inflicted on American and other United Nations troops in Korea. Communist tactics being used in Korea are identical to those followed at Katyn.

The January 16, 1967, issue of U.S. News & World Report, in an article on the killing of innocent civilians in South Vietnam, commented regarding the accidental deaths due to U.S. bombing of North Vietnam:

In capitals where indignation runs highest over these accidental deaths, there is silence about a different kind of killing—the purposeful slaughter committed by Communists against the civilian population of South

Vietnam. No voices are heard condemning the Hanoi Government for what is going on in the South.

In the three above-cited cases, one cold and frightening fact screams out to the free world for recognition: The use of terror in the form of the slaughter of defenseless human beings is an integral part of Communist strategy whether it be committed by the Soviets in Poland, the North Koreans and Chinese Reds in Korea, or the Vietcong in South Vietnam.

It is almost unbelievable that some of those who are interested in the welfare of mankind can overlook the brutal record of the Communist regimes in various countries and vociferously protest the accidental deaths in North Vietnam. Granting their sincerity, one must question their sense of responsibility in remaining silent about the cool, calculating, bestial treatment of South Vietnamese civilians by the Vietcong.

U.S. News & World Report is to be congratulated for directing public attention to the present reign of Communist terror which continues in South Vietnam, but which began in 1917 in Soviet Russia. This year marks the 50th anniversary of the October revolution in Russia in 1917, and no more fitting and current illustration of what mankind owes to the Communist revolution can be found than the brutal treatment of the South Vietnamese by Moscow-trained Ho Chi Minh.

As a fitting testimonial to the 50th anniversary of the Soviet October revolution, I include the article, "Speaking of Killing Civilians—Look at What's Happening to the South Vietnamese," in the RECORD at this point.

SPEAKING OF KILLING CIVILIANS: LOOK AT WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE

SAIGON.—A wave of anti-American frenzy has just swept half the world, whipped up by people who oppose U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

In Britain and Western Europe, news of civilian casualties caused by U.S. air raids over North Vietnam brought anguished protests.

De Gaulle of France once again went on a verbal rampage against the U.S.

Noisy "peace" delegations in one capital after another expressed "sympathy" to the North Vietnamese and heaped scorn on the United States.

The number of civilians killed in these air raids, it now is found, totals several hundred North Vietnamese—killed not purposely, but by accident.

SELECTIVE SILENCE

In capitals where indignation runs highest over these accidental deaths, there is silence about a different kind of killing—the purposeful slaughter committed by Communists against the civilian population of South Vietnam. No voices are heard condemning the Hanoi Government for what is going on in the South.

Just what are the facts? What are the Communists in South Vietnam and those sent from the North doing to people, civilians, local officials, communities in the South? How does this compare with what American bombs may have done to civilians in the North?

The basic facts:

While civilian deaths in the North have run to a few hundred, the number of civilians killed by specific Red attacks in the

South since 1957 runs to 11,000 actually counted—and many thousands more uncounted.

On top of that, untold thousands of South Vietnamese have been maimed in deliberate acts of Viet Cong terror, and another 40,000 South Vietnamese civilians have been kidnapped.

The toll of Communist terror, sabotage and aggression is described in the figures on page 35.

Some details: In the final week of 1966, Vietnamese and U.S. officials reported that 30 South Vietnamese civilians were killed by Viet Cong terrorist activity and 68 more civilians were wounded and 44 kidnapped.

During this past year, Government officials report, nearly 400 civilian officials were singled out by the Viet Cong and assassinated. About 1,800 other civilians were killed apparently for no particular reason. Some 3,700 civilians were kidnapped during the year.

Few of the kidnapped ever return. Last November 15, the Communists swept into a village in the Mekong Delta, burned 15 homes and kidnapped 109 civilians. Youths were pressed into service in Red battalions, girls were degraded, schoolteachers were assassinated and village elders were tortured and killed.

How Communists wage war in the South—bombings, massacres, systematic slaughter—the official record:

Vietcong attacks on civilians

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
Civilians assassinated.....	1,719	2,073	1,611	1,890	1,703
Civilians wounded.....	6,458	8,375	2,324	13,500	13,000
Civilians kidnapped.....	9,688	7,262	6,710	8,315	3,733
Total.....	17,865	17,710	10,645	13,705	8,436

¹ Estimated.

Vietcong attacks on public transport

Locomotives destroyed.....	236
Bridges destroyed.....	1,953
Rail cars destroyed.....	1,673
Miles of rails sabotaged.....	6,185
Miles of paved road torn up.....	63
Transport workers killed.....	266

Vietcong terrorism, including mines, grenades and bombing attacks

1962.....	8,800
1963.....	9,700
1964.....	19,500
1965.....	20,500
1966.....	19,000

Vietcong sabotage in the past 6 months

Separate acts of violence:	
July.....	1,750
August.....	1,800
September.....	1,850
October.....	1,600
November.....	1,500
December.....	1,700

In addition to all these attacks on civilians and their property, a strong and growing force of 279,000 enemy attackers is waging aggression against American and South Vietnamese military forces in South Vietnam.

The enemy lineup:

North Vietnamese Regulars.....	45,600
Vietcong main force.....	30,400
Vietcong local force.....	32,500
Militia (mostly guerrillas).....	112,800
Combat support (supply).....	18,700
Political cadre.....	39,200

The toll these Red forces took in 1966

American soldiers killed or wounded by Communists in 1966.....	35,101
South Vietnamese regulars killed or wounded in 1966.....	33,260
Other allied soldiers killed or wounded in 1966.....	2,269

GONE: 7,559 HAMLETS

Whole villages are burned to the ground by the Viet Cong. The Communists themselves claim that in the four years from January, 1961, to January, 1965, they destroyed 7,559 hamlets.

Every form of murder weapon is used. Mines on highways take a heavy toll. Forty-eight farm workers, on the way to harvest rice, died in a bus that struck a mine near Tuy Hoa last February 14. Twenty-six civilians died in a mined bus in Kien Tuong Province on Jan. 18, 1966.

Dynamite killed 27 South Vietnamese, 12 Americans, 2 Filipinos, 1 Frenchman and 1 German in a Saigon restaurant on June 25, 1965.

A bomb alongside the U.S. Embassy in downtown Saigon killed 18 civilians and injured a hundred others.

Hand grenades—four of them—were thrown into a village theater near Can Tho in the Mekong Delta. Result: 108 people killed or wounded. Of the dead, 24 were women and children. Says a U.S. official: "This was a typical Viet Cong act of terror. It bore no relation to any military actions."

Mortar shells were used last November 1 against crowds gathering in Saigon for the National Day parade. Toll was 12 civilians dead and 32 wounded.

Small arms and knives were the weapons used to kill 23 unarmed Vietnamese construction workers spending the night in a Buddhist pagoda in Dinh Tuong Province. Seven others, who were wounded, told the story.

NAIL IN THE FOREHEAD

Fresh acts of violence are reported daily. On January 5, officials reported that Viet Cong terrorists shot to death the chief of a hamlet 10 miles north of Saigon. In Saigon itself, terrorists killed two policemen and left one of them with a two-inch nail imbedded in his forehead.

A South Vietnamese official comments: "Propagandists in Hanoi make much of the attacks by U.S. warplanes. Does a victim in the South know the difference between death delivered by a bomber or by Viet Cong grenades delivered during the dead of night?"

It took Hanoi nearly two years after the bombings started to launch an intense propaganda campaign charging the U.S. with "indiscriminate" bombing. Analysts here conclude that Hanoi, during that entire period, didn't regard the civilian toll large enough to warrant making it a world issue.

TEN YEARS OF TERROR

South Vietnam, by contrast, has been enduring heavy Viet Cong terrorist attacks on civilians for a decade. Precise statistics were not kept during the early years, and as time passed the terror and death became such a part of daily life that the press ignored them.

Says a senior Asian diplomat: "If Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi insists on applying the word 'indiscriminate' to American bombings, he had better first look at the manner in which he has unleashed terrorist attacks in the South."

"Civilian casualties have occurred in schools, clinics, theaters, playgrounds in marketplaces and on the streets. Families of South Vietnamese troops, living nearby, having suffered from mortarings, machine-gunning and rifle fire just as Hanoi claims its civilian bystanders have been hurt by bombings."

More than that, officials emphasize, the Viet Cong murder and terrorization of civilians is planned and deliberate—a key part of the Communist strategy.

The noncombatant civilian in the South is the primary target—unlike the North Vietnamese civilian who may be hit by bombs aimed with all possible precision at military targets.

South Vietnamese civilians are attacked for various reasons.

Some are killed at random, to intimidate large groups. Some are singled out because they are civic or political leaders. Object of that kind of terror is to break down local government.

Schools are burned and teachers are killed. As long as six years ago, Saigon reported to the International Control Commission that the Viet Cong in two years had destroyed 284 schools used by 25,000 children.

Churches and temples are razed and priests killed. Object of that terror is to disrupt religion as a cohesive force in South Vietnam.

OFF THE TOP

A main Viet Cong target is the village leadership class. Not only village headmen and other officials are assassinated, but also the "natural leaders" such as teachers, priests, nuns and village elders.

A documented study by the U.S. mission in Vietnam says of these natural leaders: "Because they are superior individuals these people are more likely to have the courage to stand up to the Viet Cong when they come to their villages and thus most likely to be the first victims of Viet Cong terror. Potential opposition leadership is the Viet Cong's most deadly enemy."

"Steadily, quietly and with a systematic ruthlessness, the Viet Cong in six years have wiped out virtually a whole class of Vietnamese villagers. Many villages today are virtually depopulated of their natural leaders.... This loss to Vietnam is inestimable and will take a generation or more to replace."

"By any definition, this is genocide."

THE DOUBLE STANDARD

Critics of the U.S., while rarely challenging Communist aggression in the South, are quick to insist the U.S. bombing of the North "violates international law."

A legal basis for the U.S. action has been developed by the State Department—one that has not been challenged by any international tribunal.

The State Department finds that by precedent the U.S. bombing of the North is justifiable by Hanoi's armed attack on the South. In the words of Leonard C. Meeker, the State Department's legal adviser: "Legitimate defense includes military action against the aggressor wherever such action is needed to halt the attack."

U.S. fighting men in Vietnam are dismayed at the double standard that critics of the American effort seem so anxious to apply. Protests go up among some groups in the U.S., for example, whenever it is suggested that the U.S., by one means or another, block Haiphong harbor. Says one American:

"They cry, 'Don't touch Haiphong,' yet everyone should know that the Communists are regularly mining the harbor of Saigon. And who takes time to remember that the Communists sank the U.S. carrier *Card* at its Saigon dock? What's the distinction? This whole thing borders on absurdity."

AMERICA'S "BUM RAP"

Authorities here are convinced that it is the South and not the North that is taking the harder blows in this war, not only in terms of lives lost, but in damage to the economy.

In the South, the Reds terrorize and paralyze much of the rich Mekong Delta, without which South Vietnam can never have a healthy economy.

In the North, the economy is even more completely dependent on agriculture. Yet, while the U.S. has attacked military targets, it has purposely avoided the vital irrigation systems so as not to flood the densely populated Red River Valley and endanger civilian lives.

Against a background of indiscriminate

Red terror in the South, and U.S. restraint in the North, American fighting men here feel strongly that they are taking a "bum rap" from outsiders—from people eager to find fault with the U.S. at every chance.

ANACOSTIA: AN EXAMPLE OF THE NEED TO REFORM

Mr. ERLÉNBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. GUDE] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, the Evening Star has performed a great public service in preparing and publishing Haynes Johnson's series of articles on the problems in the area east of the Anacostia River. These articles point out that family and community breakdowns, crime and lawlessness characteristic of poverty in acute stages, are in evidence in the Anacostia area.

The war on poverty, including the demonstration cities program is, of course, not only an attack to eliminate poverty in the chronic forms but will serve to prevent it from reaching acute stages such as have been exhibited in a number of American cities in the last several years. Making Anacostia a demonstration city would be an ultimate solution, but such a program would take a considerable amount of time to get underway effectively. Anacostia needs immediate relief.

An ad hoc committee under the District Committee could be set up to attack and deal with the critical problems of the area. However, we must not forget that this is also a national problem. Other cities need emergency relief and advice as to how to combat their developing problems until longer range social and economic cures can begin to take effect. I would like to consider how Congress could provide information, counsel, and assistance to accomplish these ends in a swift and effective manner.

The articles referred to follow:

FEAR HAS FOUND A HOME EAST OF THE ANACOSTIA—ACROSS THE RIVER—1

(By Haynes Johnson)

Until a few months ago the supermarket at the corner of Kenilworth and Eastern Avenues, just inside the District of Columbia line in the Far Northeast, was doing a \$5,000-a-week business. Now it is closed. The front windows have been bricked in; the side windows have been covered with plywood. Scrawled on the wood are the words "And you better believe it because these are our men," and a list of names, each in a different hand—Nut, Hawk, Romie, Walter, Boo Boo, Mooney, Joe, Little Junior, Apple, Gary, and Killer.

A few doors away is the area's only drug store. It, too, has gone out of business. So have the meat market, the milk store, the delicatessen. Their fronts are plywood masks. Around the corner in front of a small, white-frame church, a misspelled sign declares:

"All that is good is undone by evil thoughts."

There are more than evil thoughts at work in this neighborhood. There is vandalism,

lawlessness, anger, alienation, extortion, destruction for its own sake—and a pervasive fear.

A woman in a house near the church put it this way:

"You have a group here that all they're interested in is crime. They laughs at the police and tries to demoralize the community, rather than build it up. They knows when a stranger is in the area. They can detect him. And they even gives certain signals, certain light signals, at night when the police is coming."

Then she said, "If this going to be in the paper I going to be found dead somewhere."

Several miles away, on Wheeler Road, in the Far Southeast, plywood and bricks and wire mesh cover the windows of another group of stores. But these stores are still open; the merchants are simply trying to cut the costs of pilfering and broken glass.

This time a druggist speaks. "I have fears all the time," he says. "I have employees who have left me. I can't blame them." He closes now at 9 p.m. Instead of 10, "and we're thinking of closing earlier."

Another merchant on the block was more emotional:

"We are afraid for our lives here. What I am trying to say is very important. There is no law and order in this city. There is a whole bunch of criminals out of hand here trying to terrorize this community. It's getting worse and worse and worse."

Like many others interviewed for these articles, he added:

"Look, if my name is in the paper, it would be like committing suicide."

The first row of stores is in Kenilworth, the second is in Congress Heights. Aside from the bricks and boards and fear, these two sections of Washington have something else in common: They are both across the Anacostia River and out of sight. In effect, they are removed from the rest of the city. Their isolation is both physical and psychological; their cumulative problems are probably the most severe in the city.

None of this is immediately apparent. A stranger coming to the area might notice boarded store fronts and broken windows, but he would also see middle class homes and the quiet streets inhabited by law-abiding citizens of both races who constitute by far the largest proportion of the population there.

Neither would a casual observer find the old familiar hallmarks of the American slum—the rat-infested tenements, the decaying buildings, the wide-open night places. Across the River, there is a new type of slum and a new kind of problem.

In other cities, problem areas are easily identifiable—Harlem in New York, Hough in Cleveland, Watts in Los Angeles. But Washington has no such handy labels. The area across the Anacostia covers about 16 square miles. Nobody knows just how many people live there. Estimates are unreliable because the area is growing at a faster rate than any other section of the city. There are at least 200,000 people there; there may be as many as 250,000. In any case, the area contains at least one quarter of Washington's population.

MAIN REASON: CHEAP LAND

The rapid growth is mainly due to cheap land. Cheap land is also responsible for an important fact about these articles: the area has nearly two-thirds of the public housing units in the District, serving perhaps 35,000 people, most of them young children and teenagers, and nearly all of them Negro.

For the same reason—cheap land—the area will continue to get the largest proportion of the new public housing units as well as the new private buildings for low-income tenants. That is the way the system works, and that system is not working well. Indeed, it has virtually broken down.

According to official crime statistics, the area is not the worst in Washington. But the statistics don't tell the full story. The incidence of serious criminal acts is increasing more rapidly than population.

The area is served by two of Washington's 14 police precincts—the 14th, in the Far Northeast, and the 11th in the Southeast. Six years ago, the 14th Precinct ranked 10th in the city in crime. Today, it is eighth. In the same period, the 11th Precinct has climbed from 11th place to nearly a tie for fifth.

More revealing are the percentage increases in serious crimes during the last three years. In the 14th Precinct, adult crime has risen 54 percent. Juvenile arrests for felonies shot up 80 percent in the same period.

In the 11th Precinct, the increases are even more dramatic: Adult crime, up 110 percent; juvenile felonies, up 135 percent; auto thefts, break-ins, lootings, all up, all rising. Another statistic underscores what is taking place: The two precincts rank first and second by an overwhelming margin in the number of false fire alarms.

MORE THAN COLD FIGURES

These are more than cold figures, to be totaled, filed and forgotten. They are proof that ignoring the problems across the river hasn't worked, that they are growing day by day. It is not coincidental that the two places where Washington came closest to race riots last summer were in the center of the areas to be examined in these articles.

Despite all this, the territory across the Anacostia is no huge lawless frontier inhabited only by the troublesome and the troublemaker. Nor is it one gigantic slum. The troublemakers represent a relative few out of the total population. But the problems that do exist are so great, so deeply seated, and so complex that they affect a far wider number and area. Like the smoke that constantly rises from the notorious Kenilworth dump, they cast a wide pall.

These problems are similar to those that may be found in any low-income area of any city. But in a special sense, Washington's failure in alleviating these problems has been particularly striking, for here, in the Nation's Capital, the government itself has contributed to the difficulties. This is especially true in the field of public housing.

For example, while the National Capital Housing Authority continues to talk about the long waiting lists of more than 5,000 families for public housing, in one such housing unit alone Across the River 109 out of 350 apartments are vacant. The windows now are boarded up and the entire development is as much a slum as any group of buildings on the South Side of Chicago or the West Side of New York.

"I'm so tired of complaining and complaining," said a woman who lives in one of those buildings. "What good does it do you?" I complained about the broken windows. I do believe it got worse. I tell you, if things don't get better, I'm going to move. I can't stand it."

The fact is, though, she has no place to move. The housing authorities have told her, and others like her, that all transfers are "frozen."

YOU JUST DON'T KNOW

Another mother of several children in that same development lives with vacant apartments above and beneath her. "I wish somebody would move in so I wouldn't be so scared," she said. Then she told how her children were afraid to pass by the vacant apartments. "Sometimes the door is open, and then sometimes, you see, it's shut, and you just don't know who's in there."

A National Capital Housing Authority administrative aide, Robert A. Bailey, was talking about some of these problems the other night at a meeting of parents in one of the projects, Kenilworth Courts. Only eight

parents out of 422 families in the project attended.

"It's an awful thing," Bailey told his sparse audience. "We cannot do anything in this community if the parents cannot control the children. There's so much damaging and vandalizing that it seems like people who don't care are in the majority, and I know that's not true, but it seems that way, and in the meantime the community's going down, down, down."

This is a typical comment in an endless round of accusations. Everyone can point to someone else who is to blame. The merchants blame the city for not providing enough police protection. The police blame the courts and the parents for failing to do their part. The parents blame the housing, the schools, the transportation. And everyone blames the youth—who in turn blame society.

On one point, everyone will agree: There is a problem Across the River. A merchant was speaking for a large segment of those involved when he said:

"Can I do anything about it? No. So I shut my mouth. But there comes a time when everyone says you got to stand up. Well, who stands up? I'll tell you this. They say this is the Model City and Mrs. Johnson plants those flowers downtown. Well, I'll say this: Let President and Mrs. Johnson come out here any time. Let them come out here without their Secret Service guards. Let them come out and see what Washington's really like."

"I'll tell you, some people may say that it's just our problem because we're way out here, but don't kid yourself. We are the insurance for the downtown department stores and businesses. If you don't stop what's going on out here it'll spread right to downtown. I'll tell you, they'll take over the city."

PROTECTION

There are 287 Metropolitan policemen assigned to duty in the two Washington precincts located across the Anacostia River. That represents 55 more than in 1960.

Of that number, however only a relatively small percentage actually do street patrol work.

Six patrol cars—half with two men, the others with one man each—are on the streets at all times in the Far Northeast 14th precinct. In the 11th, in the Far Southeast, four two-man and three one-man cars are on continuous duty.

Normally, the maximum number of foot patrolmen on duty at one time is 11 or 12 for an entire precinct. They walk beats from 4 p.m. to midnight. Another group relieves them from midnight to 8 a.m. Then the regular day-time shift begins.

In the 14th precinct, patrolmen still walk their beats alone. Only one beat in the 11th is patrolled by two men, and that double team operates only from 4 p.m. to midnight.

THE MERCHANTS VERSUS THE YOUNG DESTROYERS—ACROSS THE RIVER—2

(By Haynes Johnson)

At 9:15 o'clock on a Saturday night in November, George R. Johnson, an insurance man on his way to his home in Maryland, parked his car in front of a liquor store in the 1600 block of Kenilworth Ave. NE, not far from the Maryland line. He went inside, cashed a check, bought two cartons of cigarettes, and left.

"As I walked out there in front of the store were all kinds of kids," Johnson said later. "They all wanted money. 'Give me a nickel, give me a quarter, give me a dollar.' I said I wished I could give them some, but I couldn't."

"Then they started surrounding me, pulling at my clothes, grabbing for my wallet. They were pulling at my clothes like they were going to tear them off. They were kids

from 3 feet to—well, I'm 5 feet 8—to taller than I am. They formed several rings around me, and so those on the outside ring started reaching their hands through the others. Grabbing at you. Pulling at you. But you can't see who's actually doing it, you understand.

"They hit me and beat me and knocked my glasses off. As I broke away and jumped in my car they started throwing stones as I drove off. I'll tell you, I was lucky to get away with my life. You can bet I'll never stop there again."

Johnson's experience, by no means unusual, helps explain why within a four-block area a number of merchants have closed up shop and others are threatening to close. Declining business, losses to thieves and vandals and an ever-present fear of physical harm combine to make conducting a business there less attractive every day.

The impact goes far beyond the merchants themselves. Everyone involved—most of all the people who live in the neighborhood—is paying a high price in the form of a breakdown of community services.

The smashing and pilfering of stores across the Anacostia is not a part of some criminal conspiracy. There are no organized mobs intimidating customers and then guaranteeing store owners protection for a price. Neither are there gangs, or gang leaders.

Instead, there is destruction for the sake of destruction, intimidation for the sake of intimidation, impromptu thefts and shake-downs casually planned, quickly executed.

And in most of the cases the offenders are children—children for whom trouble has become a way of life.

A visit to the Safeway store on Kenilworth Avenue in that section demonstrated one aspect of that problem. It was 2:30 p.m. on a Tuesday, and the assistant manager, Rudolph Daggett, a Negro, was on duty.

"Just wait around for half an hour and you'll see the problem," he said.

Shortly after 3 o'clock groups of children, ranging in ages from 6 to 16, began entering the store. Immediately, the manager started following them closely, telling them to move on if they stayed too long in the back of the store.

"They'll steal right in front of your eyes," Daggett said. "They'll even steal right in front of their mothers, and the mothers won't do a thing. And you know something else: They don't steal major food items; mostly they take cosmetics and candy."

"They want to prove to the other fellows that 'I can steal from Safeway and get away with it.'"

Now the Safeway store itself may go out of business, according to Russell Cool, the manager. "That is being considered at this time," he said.

Another merchant, commenting about the petty thefts, said:

"When they steal these things, it's because they want to sell them. They'll peddle this right up and down the street, everything from toothpaste to topcoats."

That group of stores in the Far Northeast lies in one of the areas studied for this series of articles. The other group of stores is on Wheeler Road in Congress Heights. Both are across the Anacostia River; both experience similar problems.

TWO TYPES OF TROUBLE

The problems of the merchants usually fall into two categories—vandalism, petty thievery and breakage by youngsters under 18, and more daring and potentially dangerous depredations by slightly older groups.

The experiences of a merchant in Congress Heights shows how the older groups work.

"They come in bunches of 10 or 11, like a football team," explained a liquor dealer. "They say, 'Give me a pint of gin.' So you give them a pint of gin. Then they say, 'Put

it in a bag.' So you put it in a bag. Then they throw three cents on the counter and walk out."

"I know who they are, but what can you do? Do you call this law and order? Anarchy!"

The man who recounted that incident spoke in a whisper in the back of his store.

"They already know you're here," he said. "They know." Clearly he lives his life in fear.

The police know about such incidents, but can do little about them.

"We had one store owner call us after a bunch of kids walked into his place and started grabbing merchandise," said Capt. Owen W. Davis, the Negro commander of the 11th Police Precinct. "From what he told us we had a pretty good idea of who the kids were. I told him he should keep an eye out for them and when he saw one of them to call us and we'd have him arrested."

"But this man was terrified. He wouldn't do it. What can we do? We have to rely on the citizens for help."

As the policeman pointed out, fear is a potent weapon across the Anacostia River.

"Suppose a group of kids walks into some store where they know they have a certain merchant scared," Capt. Davis said. "They just go around the place picking up bottles of whiskey. They don't use a gun; they may not even utter a single word that can be construed as a threat."

SENSELESS DESTRUCTION

Such pilfering is a problem, but a worse one is sheer, senseless destruction: Windows, doors, counters, broken time and again at night, sometimes even in broad daylight, by stones, sticks or B-B guns.

Take the experience of James Shortley, the manager of an AAMCO auto repair shop on Kenilworth Avenue.

He opened the shop a year ago in October, he said, after looking for weeks for the right place. He thought he had found it in Kenilworth. The area appeared quiet and, with the Anacostia Freeway nearby, he believed he would have a good business.

His problems began with break-ins during the first two months. Then the windows were broken out. Cars were stolen right from his parking lot. Others were stripped of batteries, tires, even motors, in daylight.

"We've got nothing but trouble here," Shortley said. "I was insured and they cancelled everything—the whole shooting match. I had a new policy rewritten, but you can't get glass insurance out here; it isn't available. I've replaced all the windows out front twice. There are seven double windows, and now I've got wood in them, and they won't break that."

"God knows, I never imagined it would be this way when I started out here. And it's hard to live with, I'll tell you. For instance, when I go home for a long weekend I know something's going to happen. I just know it."

"It's been pretty rough these last couple of months, but it can't get any worse as far as I'm concerned."

Now Shortley has a vicious-sounding police dog in the shop all the time. At night, the dog roams the building unleashed. Shortley says the dog has helped to curb break-ins, but not thefts outside or smashed doors and signs.

MUTUAL ILL WILL

The merchants are not only fearful and frustrated; they are angry. It is not uncommon to hear talk of vigilante groups. Some store owners say they have purchased pistols and are prepared to use them.

In some areas the store owners have joined together to hire a private security guard to patrol their properties during the late afternoon and evening. A shopping center on Wheeler Road, in Far Southeast, has such a guard now, and while he appears

to have had some success in curbing vandalism, his presence has heightened tensions.

The security guards wear blue uniforms, a badge, and sometimes a D.C. insignia, making it hard to distinguish them from regular police. But the residents know the difference, and they resent the guards even more than they resent metropolitan policemen. The guards reciprocate.

"These people are not human beings. They are animals," said a strapping Negro guard as he walked down the sidewalk on a Saturday night telling people to move on and clear the doorways.

What the people said about him cannot be printed.

The mutual ill will underscores the present state of community relations. In an area of low-income tenants, most of them Negro, tension between the merchants and customers is always a factor. That is especially true across the river.

On the surface, there seems no obvious racial pattern to the merchants' problems. Negro store owners suffer along with whites. Most of the owners, however, are white, and they are disliked the most by the Negroes of the area. It's an old attitude, and an old problem.

"The store owner is the guy who keeps them down," said one resident. "That's where they have to spend their money, and those are the people who have all the money."

MERCHANTS CRITICIZED

Another Negro, a poverty program employee working across the river, was sharply critical of the merchants.

"Maybe if the businessmen, with their knowledge and experience, used their intelligence to get better relations with the kids and the community instead of knocking them, maybe then we could solve these problems. I think the businessmen are too negative. If the businessmen would have a conference on how to improve this community instead of saying they're all no damn good, maybe we could do something."

"Sure, the kids are throwing things. Sure, there are lots with an attitude of, 'well, I'll either steal something or throw a brick through here.'"

"But the businessmen, their answer to all these problems of 'Negro violence' is they're no damn good. You would get the impression that no white kid is bad. There are many bad white kids. But it's easy to hide them behind the black children. This has been going on so long it's useless to talk about it."

"They have white kids that ride the bus to Chevy Chase and raise as much hell as Negroes going to the Far Northeast, but there's the power structure bit, the society bit, again. And so they say, 'They're just being kids and letting off steam where the Negro is being violent.' Many young Negroes are aware that they are blamed for what white kids do."

"If maybe these businessmen would give these kids a job at \$1.25 an hour, maybe they wouldn't have this problem. There must be some place where they can find these people a job. I'm sure if they were employing more Negroes in their stores they wouldn't have to worry about stealing or breaking."

"I think the Negro kid of today, I don't care how bad he is, if you can convince him that you are concerned, that you care about him, that he has a chance, he won't let you down. The businessman, in his place in society, has a chance to save some of them. You know, it's not the kids' fault that they're poor any more than it's his fault that he's rich."

RESIDENTS LOSE

The eventual losers are the residents of the troubled areas, those who can least afford it. Merchants close their stores and leave when they can't take any more; the

poor remain, living in an area deprived of community services.

That is what has happened on Kenilworth Avenue where the drug store, grocery store, meat market, delicatessen have closed, and the Safeway supermarket, the only remaining large store, closes early at night.

"I've got to wait until 9 the next morning or get on a bus and ride all the way down to H Street for a loaf of bread," said Mrs. Ernestine Watson, a 35-year-old mother of four who lives in the Kenilworth Courts public housing project there. "We need a drugstore and a five and dime store."

Others echo her complaint.

"I think it's really bad here because everyone needs a drugstore in case the kids get sick," said a man. "You got to walk so far to a store and there is bad transportation."

"Why, we can't even get a Bandaid out here," said a mother of five. "My finger hurts and you can't get a Bandaid."

Still another mother said:

"When the kids get sick you can't go running way over to Minnesota Avenue for a little aspirin."

One of the most poignant expressions of what is happening across the river came from Yates B. McCorkle, a former star college football player, later a semipro, and now the man in charge of the D.C. Recreation Department's Youth Center at Kenilworth Courts.

"I was going to the Safeway during the Christmas vacation to ask for a donation to the youth center," McCorkle said, "and as I got down there I saw a workman putting in new window panes. They had been broken out the night before. And I just couldn't go inside and ask that man for a donation. I just kept on walking by."

THE PUBLIC HOUSING ISLANDS OF DESPAIR— ACROSS THE RIVER—3

THE COST OF VANDALISM

It is virtually impossible to determine the full cost of vandalism and destruction at Valley Green public housing project. But here are some clues:

In July, 30 boxes of large panes of glass, six sheets to a box, at \$14 a box were requisitioned, as well as several dozen smaller boxes, 12 sheets to a box, at the same price. Today, only a few boxes are left. On some days, eight to 10 panes of glass are replaced. One hundred new boxes are being ordered.

In July, there are spare 500 mail box locks and 100 mail box doors on hand. They are nearly gone and 200 more locks, at a \$1 apiece, and 150 doors, at \$2 apiece, are being ordered.

On Sept. 13, an order was placed for 200 thermostats at \$7.20 apiece. There are not many left.

Last summer, there were 1,200 hall light bulbs in supply. Another 1,200 were purchased then. A new order is being placed for 2,800 more. Maintenance men have been putting in 60 hall light bulbs a day.

About 50 wash basins are needed to replace those broken in vandalized apartments. Orders have been placed for 50 toilet seats, 50 fire alarms, and 150 fire alarm switches.

(By Haynes Johnson)

The best that can be said about the Valley Green public housing development is that it is still standing. It must also be said that it is a disgrace to Washington.

Valley Green, across the Anacostia in the Far Southeast, is a place of lawlessness and neglect, fear and hatred, destruction and looting. Its problems cannot be overstated. There, children prey upon children, adults upon adults. For the tenants there is no security, no protection and, one can only feel, no hope.

"Last Friday night there was a party in the apartment next to mine and I was afraid to go to sleep," said a mother of five chil-

dren. "They started fighting inside, and then they went outside, right outside my window, and they started firing shots. I was afraid to go to the window, even. Two times they did that. They went back inside and started fighting again and then they go outside and start shooting again."

"I was scared to death, of course, and I was afraid for my kids. I'm on the ground floor and they was right outside the window and the violence was outside and it could come right in and get me."

"It's bad when you're afraid to lay down to go to sleep at night. It's like at Highlands (an adjoining public housing project) when all the apartments was catching fire and my friend's girls got burned up. It's bad to have a place you call home and you're afraid to lay down your head."

Valley Green is no special island of despair. Nearby are other housing projects, both public and private, wearing the same look—drab slabs on a drab landscape—and containing the same problems. Broken windows, looted mailboxes, smashed fixtures, terrifying sounds in the night—all these are part of the way of life in the trouble spots Across the River.

Two generalizations can be made about public housing projects studied during the preparation of these articles:

First, the people who live in them hate them—with good reason.

Second, there is something seriously wrong with the planning and administering of the units.

Public housing always has been a vexatious problem in Washington. It throws together large numbers of people, all of them poor, in areas away from the heart of the city. Many of these people reinforce each other's problems and behavioral patterns. As a group, they also form the true dispossessed of Washington.

In the projects, families without fathers are the rule. They are large families, most of them dependent on welfare for a living. Many of them have been uprooted and forced to move from other areas of the city by urban renewal or freeways. At Valley Green, for example, nearly all the 100 families who moved there when it became public housing had been displaced and were given housing priorities because relocation officials could do nothing for them. In fiscal 1966, of the 196 housing priority families needing four or five bedrooms, nearly half went to Valley Green.

Thus, that project became a focal point for problem families in an area that already had substantial housing problems.

Complicating the picture is another fact. The National Capital Housing Authority (NCHA) always has been—and still is—timid about tackling the social problems of the people it serves.

Housing officials can point to numerous difficulties in their path—lack of funds, the complications of dealing with Congress, the necessity to build a maximum number of units at the lowest price on the cheapest land available, disagreement over which public agency should be responsible for providing community services, employment, health, recreation.

They can point to their awareness of sound planning principles—and also their difficulties in applying these principles.

But what emerges most strongly from talks with these officials, and from a review of the record, is that planning for public housing over the years has been, at best, fitful. More important, there apparently has been no real recognition that the system just doesn't work in its present form.

Consider again Valley Green, a collection of four-story walk-ups stretching back from Wheeler Road SE and facing on numerous small and dreary courts. Until 1964, Valley Green was operated privately; then, over vigorous protests from integrated neighbor-

hood groups, it was converted to 350 public housing units for large families.

The neighborhood, bounded by St. Elizabeths mental hospital, Bolling Air Force base, the Anacostia River, and the Maryland line, already contained a large number of public and low-income private housing units. Valley Green added more.

A father—a rarity in the project—who works for the Treasury Department at night, described what has happened since then.

"It's getting worse since they made this place public housing," said Vadon McDowell, 28, a Negro. "And I say this destruction of the buildings don't make sense. I'll tell you, I can understand why the government don't have the money to help them because they tear it up. I figure it comes from the parents. If the parents can't stop it nothing can. The mothers is either afraid or don't care. Children roam the streets unsupervised as late as 2 a.m."

TRANSFERS UNAVAILABLE

"Now I went through this Korean conflict. You think I'd be afraid of these people? No sir, I'm not afraid. But it just don't make sense to live in a world like this and that's why I'm getting out."

Others interviewed over a six-week period said essentially the same thing. Many mothers want to leave, but cannot. There are no transfers available, and, because of economics, they have no other place to go.

Residents who lived there in 1964 when it was a private project claim there has been a decline in services since the government took over. Before, they say, the garbage was collected seven days a week. Now, it is only picked up twice a week. Before, there were two security guards on patrol at night, making the area safer and keeping children inside. Now there are no guards. Before, the maintenance work was better. Now it is almost impossible to get repairs.

NCHA gives a variety of answers.

On the question of security, all the housing authority personnel in that section—NCHA's Area 9—work regular daytime hours. There is no resident manager. Maintenance men might work at night on an overtime basis to make specific emergency repairs, but they are not there to serve as police.

Edward Aronov, the acting executive director of NCHA; Harvey Everett, director of management, and other officials say the authority is not budgeted to provide a place like Valley Green with adequate protection. One man estimated Valley Green alone would need at least 10 men on night-time patrols.

Thinking in terms of all the projects, Everett said, "It would probably cost several hundred thousand dollars a year."

On the question of garbage collection, there is an odd regulation that says if a project has individual heating units the city provides pickup. Where there is central heating, NCHA must pay. The procedure then is for NCHA to invite bids by private trash firms. At most projects, two pickups a week are arranged. At Valley Green, the officials maintain, it is picked up six times a week. If that is so, then the residents are wrong.

FEELING OF DESOLATION

After going to the Valley Green area day and night for the six-week period, one comes away with a feeling that no one is supervising the buildings. As only one small example, in front of one of the apartments stands a trailer truck, rusting in the rain. It has been standing there for a year, residents say. No one seems to know why it and other abandoned vehicles have not been removed.

The most vivid impression of Valley Green is its feeling of desolation. There are virtually no doors left on the entrance hallways, and on the upper landings the large glass frames have been completely broken out. At night, there are few hall lights. Then, Val-

ley Green is dark and dangerous. In the daytime, it is merely depressing.

Out of 350 apartments 109 are vacant—the result of vandalism. By last summer, the destruction clearly was getting out of hand.

"There has been a drastic change out here," said James Wentz, the hardworking former investigator for the Department of Licenses and Inspection who took over as Area 9 manager last summer.

"The situation is now far beyond normal management and maintenance problems. This used to be a private development. The construction wasn't the best, but at least it had a good appearance. Now it has every appearance of a slum area. As recently as last summer there was glass in the first-floor front windows and there were doors. Now there is little glass and few doors.

"This problem was what to do about housing for large families. So NCHA experimented at Valley Green. Now, with the number of children in each apartment, the place has become an attraction for other young people. They come from all parts of the city, and they cause a great deal of trouble, especially at nights and on weekends.

"Now, I'm not saying all the trouble comes from outsiders. Many of the people living here have lost sight of the thought, 'This is our home.' There is a strong feeling in the air that you can do anything to hurt government property, and it is all right. And there is also the feeling in the air that the authorities are taking it easy. At night the police come out here, and they are as cautious as possible."

At Valley Green, the damage is so great, so frequent and so extensive that the maintenance men cannot really tell new breakage from old.

BUT WE ARE TRYING

"So many things are happening that we can't get to them fast enough," said Wilber Branch, the maintenance supervisor for that area. "We are trying to keep up. I think we are falling behind, but we're trying."

Wentz said conditions have reached the point where people "don't even report damage to their apartments. They are accepting it. They know what's going on, but they say if they tell us where it's coming from, they'll get their own apartments smashed."

Both men are dismayed by what's happening. Branch, in particular, seems stunned. He and the 30 men under him cannot keep up. "We thought it would get better after the summer," he said. "Instead, it has gotten worse."

It was during the summer that Branch's crews began boarding windows of vacant apartments. They went from the first floor up. By the time they got to the top floor not long ago, the boarding on the first floor had begun to disappear. Then they ran out of plywood. Three hundred sheets had been on hand in July. Now two more shipments of 72 sheets apiece have arrived and the boarding will resume.

At various times, Wentz said, he has had 50 apartments ready for occupancy, but they were damaged before families could be moved in. So the would-be tenants had to go back on the waiting list.

The oldest public housing project in the Valley Green section, Highland, was built during World War II to house naval personnel. Five years ago, the housing authority began replacing and repairing those buildings to correct fire hazards. That work was accelerated after two fires in recent years killed several children.

Today, 109 families live in Highlands, while work continues on 26 buildings with nearly 100 more units. With so many vacant buildings, Highland, too, has serious vandalism problems—though not of the magnitude of Valley Green. A possible explanation might be that the families are smaller.

Another public housing project, Highland

Addition, lies between Valley Green and Highland. It contains 246 units, nearly all of them occupied. While the maintenance and vandalism problems are troublesome, they are not as bad as at Valley Green.

LEASING MORE APARTMENTS

Across the street, also adjoining Valley Green, is a complex of private apartments, High Point, Barnaby Terrace and Sky Tower.

Now, the housing authority is beginning to lease apartments there for its public housing tenants. Why, when NCHA is fully aware of the over-all problems there, it adds still more tenants to a troubled area has not been satisfactorily answered.

John P. Walsh Jr., the manager of those private apartments, says difficulties are "getting worse." As an example, he said that for the month of November he ordered 500 new window panes for the 579 units in the development.

Thefts and destruction are common, he said.

"They tear up everything. We replace the locks left and right. They swing on the pipes and break them. They tear out the panels. They take the doors off the hinges, and cut holes big enough for you to put your first through on these hollow steel metal doors. One and a half months ago they totally destroyed 80 percent of the laundry machines. They turned them upside down and took the coin boxes off the washers and dryers."

Now the coin boxes are covered with an eighth of an inch of steel plate attached to concrete posts sunk in the floor.

Valley Green and the other housing developments stand in the midst of one of the two areas already examined in earlier articles in this series. The other section, also across the Anacostia, is in Kenilworth in the Far Northeast. There, the same general problems are evident.

Across the street from a group of boarded-up stores described earlier is Kenilworth Courts, a public housing project. A combination of row houses and four-story walk-up apartments, it contains 422 units, of which only a handful are vacant. In common with the project to the south, the families are large and there are few men.

Unlike Southeast, where the apartment projects are stacked row on row, Kenilworth Courts is a study in isolation. In the front is Kenilworth Avenue; on all the other sides are woodlands, the aquatic gardens, and the Anacostia River. Behind the apartments, on the strip of open land between the woods and the river, is the Kenilworth dump.

Still, physically, Kenilworth Court appears in far better condition. The exteriors are neat, there is some grass. But inside the larger apartments the same old problems are evident.

"We have problems of window breakage, fire extinguishers disappearing, and damage to equipment in storage rooms," said Edwin Gardner, NCHA's Area 11 manager.

Damage in the last year has been greater than at any time before, Gardner said. "There seems to be a growing trend among young people to lose respect for authority."

He readily concedes that Kenilworth Court tenants, mostly the young, have been principally responsible for damage and pilferage at business establishments across the street.

As always, the tenants themselves express the most discontent.

"This is the only neighborhood where it appears the police are afraid of the children," said a 35-year-old mother of four interviewed in her sparsely furnished living room. "There's no police protection out here. Right here in my hall the kids beat up a little boy. He was beaten up and had his coat taken. He was afraid to say he'd been robbed of a genuine leather coat. It just goes to show that people aren't depending on police to protect them out here."

CITIES GAMBLING PROBLEM

She, like others, said that gambling is a major problem.

"Every night men gamble in the halls. The quarters hit the cement so hard that I can hear it in the last bedroom in here. Half the night in the street people are screaming at the top of their voices."

Then she said:

"I've always maintained that this is the worst place on God's earth to live."

Her words help to explain why James Wentz, the housing manager in the Southeast, is talking about "a feeling of rebellion out here."

"There are regulations, and they will have to be enforced," Wentz says. "This soft patting on the shoulder is going to have to be done away with. At the same time we're going to have to build something of a community out here. We need things like adequate recreation, but that might take two years."

"Something has to be done now."

CROWDED SCHOOLS AND THE LURE OF THE STREETS—ACROSS THE RIVER—4

(By Haynes Johnson)

During school hours, when the weather is fair, groups of teen-agers can be seen walking the streets Across the River. They congregate on corners, sit on cars, and move idly through the neighborhoods. If you stop and ask one what school he goes to, often the answer will be:

"I go to the twilight school."

The truth is, their school is the school of the streets. It teaches hard lessons.

Truancy is common Across the River. Take the modernistic Ballou High, in the Congress Heights section of the far Southeast, where juvenile vandalism has been examined in earlier articles. Absenteeism there runs from 15 to 20 percent of enrollment. That means 250-300 teen-agers from that school out on the streets every day.

They are unsupervised—and uneducated. Their futures are bleak. Inevitably, they are the students who finally drop out of school entirely to become the core of tomorrow's adult problems.

Like Washington in general, the schools Across the River are for the most part overcrowded and understaffed. In the far Southeast, in fact, the schools are the most overcrowded in the city. They have been that way for some years. They cannot keep pace with the increasing population.

Figures from the Congress Heights section provide a quick picture of the problem. Hart Junior High School has nearly 2,000 children in classrooms designed for 1,443. Hendley Elementary School has almost 1,500 in space for 1,056 (including four classes in the auditorium). Ballou has 1,430, when it should have no more than 1,187.

In addition, the schools experience a constant turnover of pupils, another reflection of the social turmoil of the area. New families move in, others leave, adding to disruptive influences in the classrooms. In the first eight weeks of this school year, for instance, more than 700 students were affected by moves at the Hendley School alone. Two hundred fifty students left; some 500 entered.

What these figures only indicate are the problems of discipline and behavior which place tremendous burdens on teachers and pupils. The behavior of the streets carries over to the classrooms and corridors.

An incident this month at Hart Junior High was illustrative.

After class one day, a 14-year-old girl entered the lavatory there. She was accosted by five or six older girls, who took \$1 and slashed her arm with a razor blade. Last October, in the same school, a 13-year-old girl was stopped on her way to class by a youth demanding money. He got none, and snapped the girl's arm. Last month, a group

of teen-age boys and girls swept down 4th Street SE, knocking down every smaller child they met. One boy tells of being kicked and having his glasses smashed. Others tell of beatings.

And every day at Hart, by the pupils' own accounts, older youths shake down smaller ones for a quarter or a dime, threatening beatings if their demands are not met.

Windows are broken, lockers are looted, walls are decorated with profane "Magic Marker" graffiti.

Like the stores of the troubled neighborhoods, many schools bear the physical evidence of vandalism. Pieces of cardboard replace the broken window panes. In the fall of 1965, 280 broken window panes had to be replaced at Hart before school opened. Last fall, the figure had risen to 350, and vandalism in general is "the worst ever," according to the head custodian.

None of this means that the schools Across the River are part of some vast "Blackboard Jungle." The point must be emphasized that the troublemakers are only a very small percentage; that teachers and students are working together; that hope has not ended for today's youth. Still, the problems exist.

Teachers, understandably, single out control and discipline as key factors.

"I ask a student as nicely as possible to bring up her paper," says one teacher, "and she tells me to go to hell. And the rest of them laugh. What can I do? I can't send 37 kids to the office."

A DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE

Students, also understandably, see it from a different perspective.

"The teachers pick on students," said a girl who attends the Roper Junior High School in the Far Northeast.

"When they know the student won't say anything, they pick on them. So the child fights the teacher and gets suspended. The principal doesn't pay any attention to the students, just to the teachers."

Such expressions of mistrust barely begin to illuminate the alienation and anger and often overwhelming sense of inadequacy felt by so many children from large, and poor families. A psychologist may say they have no sense of identity; that, by their actions, they are craving recognition, demanding to be noticed.

In their own words, the children often express the same thought.

"You know," said one youth, when asked why fights occur, "you walking down the street with your girl or some other boys, and one of them say, 'Hey, man, I bet that little kid can beat your —.' So, maybe you had a little drink and you don't know right then what to say, and your girl's laughing and so you gotta hit this little kid. I mean, how else you gonna show her?"

And, a girl, 13:

"Some girl, she say, 'Ain't you had your baby yet?' And all the other girls, they laugh. So she says it some more times and you gotta show her you a woman."

Students, particularly those from broken homes and low-income housing, often reveal a feeling of inferiority toward their more fortunate classmates. One teacher tells of students coming to her and whispering "I haven't got a father," after she asks the pupils to invite their mothers and fathers to the school. A mother in the Valley Green public housing development, put it another way:

"My girl doesn't even want to go to McCogney (the elementary school) because they tell her, 'Your mother is on the welfare.' They go to school with the middle class and the upper income and they laugh at your coat."

And a poorly-dressed teen-age boy, when asked if he had enough warm clothes for winter, laughed, and said sharply:

"No, I don't need that damn jacket. I got two others."

Those children are still in school. Then there is someone we shall call Jimmy. That is not his real name, but his experience is all too real.

Jimmy is 18 now, an attractive looking young man. He had attended school in Congress Heights, and dropped out of junior high. When asked why, he said:

"The teacher kept throwing a whole lot of things in my face. They talk a whole lot of trash. They had to keep on talking."

On further questioning he said the teacher had threatened to tell the students "about how I got locked up, how bad I was, how I was locked up for being bad."

"Tell the truth, Jimmy," his mother interrupted, and then explained, "My husband beat me and he (Jimmy) accidentally killed him."

QUIETLY AND CASUALLY

In fact, Jimmy had stabbed the man to death. Jimmy was 13 at the time. The man was his stepfather; his own father died years ago and he has no memory of him. Now a dropout at age 18, Jimmy lives in a family of eight other children. Two of the older children are in jail—one charged with bank robbery, the other with rape. And Jimmy tells you he doesn't like to go to downtown Washington because, he says, a friend of his was shot and killed by police there. Another friend, aged 16, also was shot and killed by police, Jimmy says, because "they thought he had a gun and it turned out to be a pipe."

Jimmy told his story quietly and casually, as if acts of violence were ordinary events. In his life, they have been. Yet Jimmy also says that he doesn't like hearing that Congress Heights is a bad place to live (he said that before these articles began appearing).

With a sense of pride, Jimmy says: "Congress Heights is a nice place to live."

The schools did not fail Jimmy, but Jimmy is nevertheless a failure before he is out of his teens.

Another boy, also 18, gave this picture of his life:

"The trouble is, like I'm a young boy. If I had some place to go. Like a pool room, like downtown to play, but what we got to do but drink more and go to D.C. jail. How would you like it if you was stuffed down like a top on a garbage can?"

"Like today, I goes downtown to the employment office to see about plumbing work and the woman says I got four (police) records. So I told her, 'no three of the records was beat.' They may be beat, but you still got four records," she says. So everywhere you go you can't get no job."

He returned to his neighborhood Across the River, and spent the afternoon inside a laundromat with other boys and older men, "because," he explained, "it's warm." The rest of the day, he stands on the street corner waiting, he says, to be hired for odd jobs in the neighborhood.

"How you going to get a job if they run you off the corner," he remarked, after police told him and others to move on. "And you got a record. I'd like to go back to school and take up a trade, to tell you the truth."

One of the problems, nearly everyone will agree, is that the Jimmies of Washington, and other cities, have not been successfully reached by anyone—not their teachers, their counselors, and most certainly not their parents. In this situation the schools are expected to assume the responsibilities of the parents, and the community. But obviously, the schools cannot. They are doing everything that can be done, given things as they are today.

Last month, for instance, the Congress Heights principals wrote an appeal to D.C. Superintendent of Schools Carl E. Hansen requesting a full-time nurse for each elementary school, a full-time psychologist, and one or more social workers for each school.

Hansen would be only too happy to fill the

request, but there one comes back to the old Washington cycle of responsibility: Money wasn't available.

After talking to many children visiting schools Across the River in preparation for these articles, one of The Star's reporters was strongly reminded of a passage in "David Copperfield," where David says, "day after day, week after week, month after month, I was coldly neglected."

TEACHERS, REPORTER MEET

The neglect is present Across the River, and what makes it worse is that it is not intentional. No one is more aware of this than the teachers. An incident yesterday sharply underscored that fact.

A teacher from one of the schools there had called The Star to say that while what was being reported was "sad but true," she would like to arrange a meeting between a reporter and other teachers. The meeting was held yesterday afternoon with eight teachers and the principal present. It was understood neither the school nor the teachers would be identified.

After an hour of discussion, several points of agreement emerged. First, everyone felt that whatever troubles existed stemmed from only a very small percentage of the children, and that these problems could be duplicated in other areas of Washington—and in every other city in the United States. What intensifies the problems, however, in such an area Across the River, is the high concentration of public housing units with so many large families.

"Do you think that a child who has been kept up all night from loud talking, or other behavior, will come to us the next morning smiling and happy?" asked one teacher.

The more they talked, the more the conversation turned to the problems lying outside the school—the problems of jobs, housing, poverty, automation, attitudes, prejudices, stereotypes, lack of communications. To illustrate, the principal told of an incident that occurred last year. The school was being painted, he said, and the painters all were white men, all from outside the area. By his account, they did a slapdash job. While they were painting that school, Negro men were standing idle on the street outside.

"They would have done a beautiful job," one teacher said, "because they live here, and they do have a sense of pride in their community."

She also said:

"I have taught in schools throughout Washington. I have taught the privileged, as well as the underprivileged, and I can say one thing about them all—at the age of 4 or 5, when they first come to us, they all start out the same way. They are happy, and they are full of love. It is society that changes them."

As the conference ended, and the teachers and the reporter left, the sound of lusty young voices rang through the first-floor corridors. Third-grade students, 75 of them, were singing together in their joint classroom in the school auditorium. They were singing "Washington," from the first verse down to through the chorus. They sang it twice, loudly, beginning with:

"Washington, the fairest city in the greatest land of all."

A CHALLENGE FOR BOTH SIDES OF THE RIVER— LAST OF A SERIES

(By Haynes Johnson)

Last month posters appeared on bulletin boards in public buildings throughout the far Northeast of Washington. They began dramatically—"Emergency Flash!!! Mass Meeting"—and concluded with a plea:

"Let's Curb

Crime

Necessity for Closing Stores

Threats to Curtail Transportation

Threats to Cancel, Deny Insurance

Protection and Other Causes of Blight and Wrong Image of Area."

The meeting was held the night of Dec. 14 in Kenilworth Courts, a public housing project near the Maryland line. Representatives from a broad cross-section of the community attended—the police, fire, and sanitation departments; the schools, churches, and civic associations; the District government and public housing; private businesses and public transportation. More than 60 residents of the housing project, both parents and children, also attended.

The gathering demonstrated that some of the people of at least one of the trouble spots across the River are willing to work on the problems that beset them. But the sparse turnout made it clear that they are a long way from the kind of dynamic community action that would make a difference.

In earlier articles, *The Star* has pinpointed a number of serious problems in the trouble areas—vandalism, intimidation, and shake-downs; depredations by juveniles; declining community services; difficulties in public housing projects and schools. This concluding article focuses on what is being done about those problems, and what lies ahead.

Two points should be made at the outset. The first is that the two trouble spots—centering on Kenilworth in the far Northeast and Congress Heights in the far Southeast—are by no means typical of the whole area across the Anacostia. The vast majority of the citizens Across the River are law-abiding; they live in pleasant homes in quiet neighborhoods. The second point is that there are many residents of the area who are aware of the problems and who are trying to do something about them. The Kenilworth Courts meeting is an example. It is indicative of the magnitude of the job that they have made so little progress.

Mrs. Ruth Bates Harris, executive director of the D.C. Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, was one who attended the Dec. 14 meeting. She came away struck by the "amiable" spirit there.

Also in the Northeast, an active integrated business group meets regularly to discuss problems of the community. There is an integrated bank, the United Community National Bank, headed by Dr. William Collins; meetings are held there. Citizens and civic leaders also gather in schools and churches to explore common problems.

Mrs. Harris and others make the point that such business-community rapport is not as evident in the far Southeast. One man, a Negro merchant, put it bluntly, "There is a lack of community relations among the citizens out here."

Poverty programs are also at work in both troubled sections across the Anacostia, offering a variety of services to the communities. These programs, too, grew out of grass-roots initiative.

Less than two years ago, for example, the far Northeast Council of Civic Associations, representing 13 civic groups east of the Anacostia and north of Pennsylvania Avenue, completed a study calling for aggressive community action to combat poverty. The need was urgent, the Council declared, because:

"... We have a community which, while not totally poverty-stricken, is headed toward blight, despite strenuous and energetic action by many individuals and groups in the community."

The poverty program in the Northeast has the solid support of its community—from the PTA and the Northeast Business and Professional Association down to the 14th Precinct Crime Council. In the far Southeast, where the Southeast Neighborhood House operates the poverty program, a militant approach has produced some friction between the workers and the businessmen.

But whatever the particular community attitude may be, in both areas Across the

River poverty workers are attempting to get at the basic causes of unrest and disorders. There simply have not been enough of them—and now no one is sure how much antipoverty money will be available for the programs in the future.

"They wanted us to fight a war with a pea shooter, and now they're trying to take the pea shooter away," says Ralph Fertig, the director of the Southeast Neighborhood House.

MORE POLICE ASKED

Inevitably, any discussion of the problems Across the River bogs down on one question: What can be done to change things? Many persons interviewed urged more police, better protection. Some advocated a return to the old-fashioned neighborhood foot policeman, with men assigned fulltime to beats in the housing project areas.

There were some charges of police brutality, but the police had many defenders. One recreation department worker said that "police brutality isn't the problem; police protection is the problem. Many of these kids humiliate the police." Others told of incidents when teen-agers, who have been arrested and released, come back to taunt the police to their faces.

The police have their views, too.

"The people brought their complaints to us," said Capt. Bernard E. Carroll, the commander of the 14th Precinct, referring to the mass meeting in Kenilworth last month. "But when we questioned them, it turned out that most of the blame should have been put on the courts here. The courts just aren't giving them the protection they should have."

"They call on us for help and we follow through and then nothing is done in court, and these people see the same man who threatened them or pushed them around going free. Maybe the chief judge should come to some of these citizens meetings."

Carroll then drew out a map to illustrate one of his greatest problems—the size of his precinct. His men on foot patrols—never more than 12—have huge beats to cover. They are lucky to get around once during their shift.

The former commander of that Northeast precinct, Vernon H. Culpepper, now the head of the Police Community Relations Division, was asked his opinion on the reasons for juvenile vandalism.

"I can see why a kid might rob a store, or steal a car," he said, in his southwestern Virginia drawl, "but giving false alarms, and breaking school windows—we get that constantly. When somebody does that he's just hurting himself. He might have to sit in a cold school room the next day, or his home might be the one that needs protection by the fire department. I just don't get it."

Culpepper, who is highly regarded by residents of his former precinct, made clear his conviction that problems of criminal behavior will not be solved by more men or stricter enforcement alone.

He particularly emphasized that by no means all the blame should be placed on children in public housing. Some of the best children he has known, he said, have come from the projects.

NO ONE TO LEARN FROM

Capt. Owen W. Davis, the Negro commander of the far Southeast's 11th Precinct, made the same points—but even more strongly.

No matter how many men and cars are put on the streets, he said, the social and economic causes of crime will remain. He also said he feels that jamming the poor together in large public housing projects undoubtedly decreases their chances of obtaining an education in urban living.

"They have no one to learn from," he said. "It's like the 'alley-dwellings' that they had here after the Civil War. The freed slaves came to Washington and lived in the alleys.

They were out of sight of the white world. They had their own little world."

Housing comes up again and again in discussions.

Most of the problems appear to stem from the large projects—from a very few in those projects. The most notable example is the Valley Green project, on Wheeler Road.

The National Capital Housing Authority executives have been well aware of the troubles there, and have attempted to do something about them. Their largest effort so far has been to move nearly everyone involved in the authority's social service unit to full time duty at Valley Green. Of 12 staff members in the unit, 11 were stationed at Valley Green two months ago.

That unit is headed by John Staggers, former director of Howard University's Community Service Project. Staggers, who came to NCHA last spring, speaks hopefully. "It's impossible to make inroads overnight," he says, "but we're gratified at the progress we're making."

His first order of business was to conduct a "social inventory of the tenants" to determine needs. Now, he says, that data is being tabulated. The next step will be "mobilizing the resources of the community" by organizing tenants and bringing the services of other agencies into the development.

Candor compels one to say there is little evidence that the social service unit is making dramatic progress. Its "social inventory" was taken some weeks ago, and that appears to be the only contact many families have had with Staggers' staff. During six weeks of research for these articles Staggers himself had little direct contact with Valley Green. He has been busy, he said, arranging "a mammoth pageant" that will involve the participation of teen-age girls from all 40 NCHA projects. The pageant is scheduled for Feb. 10.

YOUTH WORK PLAN

Housing officials have several other ideas they want to try. One would be to hire teenagers in the projects for maintenance jobs now done only sporadically. The youngsters would work 16 hours a week, and be paid \$1.25 an hour. Three or four project adults would be hired to supervise the youth work.

Such steps may help to instill pride and responsibility and provide needed income. But, as one housing official commented, "That's first aid. What Valley Green needs is surgery."

Looking further into the future, NCHA points toward two relatively new and promising programs. One involves placing tenants in rehabilitated houses in existing neighborhoods. NCHA first buys the houses, and then, on contract, has them renovated for tenants. The agency now has the authority to rehabilitate 240 of these houses. In its second program, it is currently leasing 110 units for tenants and has authority to lease 240 more.

"These units are in all quadrants of the city," said Edward Aronov, NCHA's acting director, "but there are none west of Rock Creek. We can't get any to sell or lease at a price we can afford."

There, the housing agency runs into its old dilemma of finding suitable, reasonably priced sites outside of the present concentrations of housing projects. NCHA has been offered enough land for 1,000 to 2,000 units—but the land is adjacent to existing projects.

SENSE OF ISOLATION

On one point, there can be no question—virtually without exception those interviewed in the projects Across the River express a sense of isolation and alienation. They do not feel a part of Washington. Also there was almost unanimous agreement among both parents and children that they were happier in other sections of the city.

When you ask why, the answer varies. To a boy who had lived previously in Southwest, he had "more fun." To a boy who had lived

behind Union Station, he could play the pin-ball machines in the game rooms there. To still another who had lived on North Capitol Street, there were more lights in his old area.

The suggestion often is made that the projects do not provide enough community services—recreation, shopping, entertainment, even close schools; that future planning would dictate smaller, more homogeneous units. In fact, as a general rule the behavioral problems increase with the number of the people in a single building; the row-type dwellings show far less evidence of vandalism than the four-story walkups.

One way to attack the problems on a massive scale would be to make the two areas part of Federal Demonstration Cities projects, and thus pour substantial Federal resources into the troubled communities. Officials here have indicated such a proposal might be viewed favorably.

But it would be naive to suggest that merely building better units is going to resolve the problems. Behind the mortar and bricks lie the more difficult problems of family structures and attitudes of inferiority and hopelessness which contribute toward acts of vandalism and worse.

FRUSTRATED AMBITION

During the interviewing for these articles, the mother of a 13-year-old boy in Kenilworth spoke of only her son's experience, but his frustration is shared by many more. Her son, she said, is "very ambitious," and he was working hard at delivering papers. Then she said:

"He didn't make a penny. People just wouldn't pay him."

His frustrations, and the frustrations of others like him, signal trouble ahead—more trouble for more youths. For, as has been shown, Across the River today the problems are primarily juvenile problems. Already a number of youths have police records. Some see arrest as a mark of distinction.

A school crossing guard, who lives with her children in one of the large projects surveyed, spoke angrily about some of the youths. But most of her scorn was directed at the parents.

"If these parents would take the time and be near the kids," she said, "there would not be as much trouble. But a lot of parents are living with stolen goods themselves. You see a boy walking around here with fine clothes, then find out where they came from. The parents know the kids don't work. Yet they walk around with fine \$34 shoes. It's not only the kids' fault. The parents are involved, too. How many mothers ask their kids where they got things?"

One explanation for the behavior she described is singularly disturbing. Time and again during research for these articles, mothers have told of being physically afraid of their own children.

Out of the whole experience, that one fact remains the most vivid for this reporter.

One comes away from this study convinced that, in the long run, all other problems are secondary when placed beside the unmet needs of the youths. If real changes are to come soon, they must come through programs designed to reach the young people.

There are youth programs functioning now Across the River. There are dedicated people who devote their time and talents to helping erase the bitterness and the despair felt by the young and draw them back into the community. Many more are needed. Many more facilities are required.

This Across the River study was born last Dec. 7 when a group of businessmen from east of the Anacostia came to The Star and told of vandalism, extortion, fear and destruction.

Their troubles continue. The Kenilworth and Congress Heights areas are still beset by lawlessness, destruction and declining business.

As has been shown, the merchants do not bear these burdens alone. The entire communities involved are paying the price in the breakdown of community services and morale.

Nor is the problem something that rests with those troubled neighborhoods alone. It must be shared by the rest of Washington, which, for the people east of the Anacostia, is also Across the River.

EARLY WARNINGS

A community leader Across the River summed up much of the frustration of civic leaders there when he said "we've told you, and we've told you, and we've told you" of the problems there. Here, chronologically, are some of the things one civic group, the Far Northeast Council, has been saying to the District government over the years:

1954

"...Although the juvenile delinquency problem is not as pronounced in this area as in other areas of the city, a notable increase is reported in offenses and arrests of juveniles in the area. Adequate health facilities, recreation facilities, social service, schools, and police protection can do much to prevent the upsurge of crime in this community."

1957

"... It is high time that all who are concerned with the welfare of Washington, as a whole, recognize that one section of the city, as large as ours, cannot be neglected without eventually bringing harm to the city as a whole. The Far Northeast's needs are dire and immediate. They must be attended to."

1960

"The recorded history of our request for a public health center begins with the period just prior to 1954 when our minutes show increasing concern over the health problems in this area; the increasing number of public housing projects being built in the area. . . ."

1960

"Despite the excellent efforts of the staff of the 14th Precinct to control crime in this area, it must be pointed out that crime has been on the increase in this community for the last five years."

1965

"We feel, strongly . . . that community needs have become so neglected, and that the civic voice has been so ignored that it is incumbent upon us to bring these matters to the attention of the Board of Recreation. . . ."

HOW REPUBLICANS VOTED ON MAJOR ISSUES

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. GOODELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. Speaker, recently the majority leader and other members of his party took the floor on the minority leader's Republican state of the Union address.

So many misleading statements were made by members of the majority party in characterizing and commenting on the Republican position on major votes taken in the House during past Congresses that I think the record should be set straight.

I rise to offer a factual analysis of the more important charges which spokes-

men of the majority party leveled at the minority in the course of their remarks.

The statement that 85 percent of the Republicans "voted to kill the voting rights bill"—of 1965—is false.

On final passage in the House on July 9, 1965, the vote by party was as follows: Republicans: Yea 112, nay 24; percent voting yea, 82.

Democrats: Yea 221, nay 61; percent voting yea, 78.

These figures show that this bill had more support from Republicans than Democrats.

The administration bill was inferior to the Republican proposal to protect voting rights, the Ford-McCulloch bill. The basic difference between the administration proposal and the major Republican alternative, the Ford-McCulloch bill—H.R. 7896—lay in the fact that the Republican bill provided a remedy for unconstitutional discrimination in all 50 States, wherever it occurs, and regardless of the device used to achieve discrimination. The administration bill, on the other hand, struck at discrimination only in a few States, and only when literacy and other tests were the device used to achieve discrimination.

Eighty-four percent of the Republicans in the House voted to substitute the more effective Ford-McCulloch bill for the administration bill on a motion to recommit. This was a vote to improve and strengthen protection of the right to vote.

The allegation that "90 percent of the House Republicans voted to kill medicare" is equally false.

Forty-nine percent of the Republicans in the House voted for the medicare bill which passed on April 8, 1965, after a better Republican proposal had been defeated.

Most House Republicans registered their preference for the alternative bill, H.R. 7057, on a recomittal motion to substitute this bill for the proposal which prevailed. Unlike the bill which passed, the Republican alternative, H.R. 7057, provided for a different system of financing, avoiding the regressive social security tax, made coverage voluntary rather than compulsory, and generally gave more ample benefits to those truly in need.

In any discussion of medicare, it should not be forgotten that the proposal made by the administration at the outset in 1965 was narrow in coverage, limited to payment of hospital charges. The expanded coverage providing for most medical expenses and not just hospital costs originated in the Republican alternative bill. The medicare bill that became law was an amalgam of the administration proposal and the bill offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES] along with many other Republicans.

Equally false is the statement that 70 percent of the Republicans "voted to kill the minimum wage."

H.R. 13712, raising the minimum wage and extending coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act, was passed by the House on May 26, 1966, by the following vote:

Republicans: Yea, 89; nay, 38.

Democrats: Yea, 214; nay, 55.

The Republican motion to recommit was an amendment to the bill and in no sense an attempt to kill it.

One persistent misstatement repeated recently on the floor of the House pictures Republicans as the foes of the social security system.

According to a Democratic Member of this House, 99 percent of the Republicans "voted against the original social security bill in 1935." In fact, more than 60 percent of the Republicans in House and Senate voted for the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935. The vote on final passage among Republicans was:

House: Yea, 77; nay, 18.

Senate: Yea, 14; nay, 5.

House Republicans have consistently urged expansion of social security benefits in the past 2 years. Changes advocated include enlarging of the right of social security beneficiaries to earn money without loss of benefits, blanket-ing in those over 72 who never had an opportunity to contribute to social security, and automatic adjustment of social security benefits with rise in prices. All of these creative Republican proposals have been ignored by the Democratic majority in Congress.

Let me turn now to other instances cited by the majority spokesmen in saying Republicans opposed various bills of the so-called Great Society: the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the war on poverty, and the establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In these instances Democratic critics have failed to tell about creative, positive Republican proposals that had been spurned by Democrats.

Republicans voted against the administration's version of a war on poverty because it was demonstrably disorganized, wasteful and because constructive, practical suggestions to improve the program were totally ignored. We tried to substitute an effective program—the opportunity crusade—to correct abuses and redirect the whole chaotic mess.

Republicans voted against the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965 because of a multitude of defects in a hastily drafted bill. We were particularly critical of the allocation formula for Federal funds in title I, which results in the absurdity of spending more Federal money to help poor children in wealthy counties than in poor counties. Republicans sought to amend this formula in the interests of simple justice to give as much money for a poor child in Sunflower County, Miss., as was granted to a poor child in Westchester County, N.Y. Subsequent experience has borne out the validity of Republican observations that States and local educational agencies should be given more freedom in handling funds and setting their own priorities.

Again in the case of the establishment of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Republicans sought to pass a more effective bill to deal with urban area problems. The administration bill, H.R. 6927, was defective in many respects. It did no more than confer a more prestigious title on certain existing agencies. It brought together in the new Department less than one-third of the

Federal Government's housing activities and only a minor fraction of Federal activities and funds aimed at assisting States and municipalities to solve the problems of metropolitan areas. As passed by the House of Representatives, it made no provision for the continued existence of the Federal Housing Administration, a defect which Republicans sought to correct and which was finally remedied in conference.

The Republican alternative, H.R. 5173, offered by the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER], and several other Republicans, would have created an agency in the Executive Office of the President to deal with metropolitan area problems. This agency would have been a center of coordination and information for all Federal programs and activities relating to urban areas.

Another ill-founded attempt on January 23 to raise an issue superficially, leaving the impression of Republican negativism, was shot down immediately on the floor by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ERLBORN]. The weird allegation had been made that Republicans had attempted to kill the Department of Transportation at birth. The allegation was based on the fact that most Republicans voted in the House for a motion to recommit the bill and report it back immediately with an amendment separating the accident investigating function from the enforcement of rules and regulations and the conduct of traffic in the airways. Although the recommittal motion failed, the Republican recommittal amendment was ultimately added to the bill in the Senate and approved in the final law. An overwhelming proportion of Republicans voted for creation of the new Department of Transportation, even before our important amendment was added.

The time has about run out on Democrats who automatically chant the refrain, "Republicans voted to recommit and kill." They exploit the fact that many of our citizens do not understand the technical nature of a recommittal motion. As illustrated by the issues cited above, a recommittal motion is the major device available to the minority in Congress to get a rollcall vote on a substitute bill or a specific amendment to a bill brought forth by the majority party. It is time our Democratic friends started debating the relative merit of Republican substitutes for ill-considered Democratic measures. The accumulated problems in the poverty program, in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and in a variety of other measures rushed through without careful consideration in the past 2 years are evidence enough of the need for this kind of debate. The results of the election last November 8 would indicate that a large number of Americans are not to be confused by the old, shopworn, and superficial Democratic tactic of labeling every Republican effort to improve legislation or substitute different proposals as negative efforts to kill the legislation.

FOR THE RELIEF OF ATAOLLAH M. YAZDI

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentle-

man from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a private bill on behalf of Dr. Ataoallah M. Yazdi. A citizen of Iran and a graduate of medical school in Shiraz, Iran, Dr. Yazdi came to the United States in 1959 on the exchange visitor program to obtain a residency in obstetrics and gynecology. He served a rotating internship at De Paul Hospital, St. Louis, Mo., between July 1, 1959, and June 30, 1960, and as a first year resident in obstetrics and gynecology at the same hospital between July 1, 1960, and June 30, 1961. Dr. Yazdi also served 2 years as an assistant resident in obstetrics and gynecology and 1 year as chief resident in obstetrics and gynecology at St. Louis City Hospital between July 1, 1962, and June 30, 1964. This latter date marked the completion of the formal training necessary to enter private practice as a licensed physician.

However, Dr. Yazdi has been unable to use his specialized skills and training to the fullest extent for the past 2 years because Missouri, like many of our States, requires that a person be a citizen of the United States before he can be issued a certificate to practice medicine in the State or take the examination which is a prerequisite to the issuance of a medical certificate. Dr. Yazdi has been able to perform minor surgery, general medicine, and some uncomplicated deliveries under supervision of the private physician. He has been unable to do any major surgery or obstetrics which he is trained and qualified to do, and fears that he is losing his skill.

Dr. Yazdi received his permanent visa in the spring of 1966. But under section 319 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, he will be unable to make application for U.S. citizenship for at least 3 years. This means that Dr. Yazdi's full skills will be lost to his community and State for at least this period of time unless some action is taken by Congress. The matter is not simply a State concern because the problem is brought about by a combination of Federal and State laws. The time which Dr. Yazdi has spent here in this country, which ordinarily would be sufficient to qualify him for citizenship, so far has not counted for naturalization purposes because he has been under the exchange visitor program. While I share, and have in the past taken the floor to express, the concern of my colleagues who may feel that to accept for U.S. citizenship the skilled professional people of other nations after they have been trained and could aid in the further development of their countries, is to violate the spirit and intent of the exchange visitor program, I believe that the circumstances in Dr. Yazdi's case have changed considerably since his entry into this country as an exchange student, and warrant our granting an exception to a basic policy whose soundness I do not question.

The bill which I introduce today rem-

edies the situation I have described by declaring that for the purpose of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Dr. Ataoallah M. Yazdi shall be held and considered to have complied with the requirements of section 319 of the act as they relate to permanent residence.

FOR THE RELIEF OF BERNARD KIM

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I am again introducing a private bill for the relief of Mr. Bernard Kim, a native of South Korea.

This man received a master of science degree in chemical engineering from the Illinois Institute of Technology in 1958. He had his status in this country adjusted to that of permanent resident. He is currently employed as a heat transfer engineer by Emerson Electric in St. Louis. Mr. Kim's special skills make him necessary and valuable for much defense work of a confidential nature undertaken by Emerson. At the moment, Mr. Kim will not be eligible to apply for naturalization until December of 1970. This legislation would accelerate his application for naturalization and allow him to engage in this work which would be beneficial to our country.

It has been estimated that there are at least 2 million persons who are structurally unemployed and who need additional training to become employable. This situation means that there is a considerable strain on private industry seeking to attract and retain skilled workers. This fact, if coupled with the fact that the industry is involved in defense production, creates a situation of national importance.

The introduction of this bill for the relief of Mr. Kim will, in my opinion, relieve the pressure in one specific instance that has been called to my attention.

LEGISLATION TO PROMOTE EQUALITY OF TAXATION UNDER THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, the successful operation of our system of taxation depends to a great extent on the voluntary and good faith cooperation of our citizenry. Even with the advent of automatic data processing and other auditing devices, the extent of our tax laws—touching almost every citizen—makes this fact true.

It is therefore essential that public confidence be maintained in the fairness

of the application of our tax laws. Public confidence is undermined when one individual or organization pays more or less taxes than another in essentially the same situation. This is often the result of one of three causes: lack of foresight on the part of the drafters of the legislation, or alteration in the circumstances of the taxpayer changing his real economic position from one tax category to another, and the continuing shifting structures in the dynamic American economy itself. Among other things a sound tax policy must recognize that an entity deserving of one tax treatment as an embryo may not deserve the same treatment in its maturity.

Thus, whatever the cause, it is important that we continually reassess our tax legislation to take account of economic technical alterations to insure that those in essentially the same position are treated equally by the Internal Revenue Service. To this end I am introducing today several bills designed to promote equality of taxation.

A BILL TO EQUALIZE THE TAX TREATMENT IN LIFE INSURANCE TRANSFERS

Mr. Speaker, under the present Internal Revenue Code, section 101(a)(2), the proceeds of life insurance contracts transferred for value are taxable as to the amount over the value given and premiums paid by the transferee. Certain exceptions have been created to this general rule. The first of these deals with the situation in which the transferor's basis is passed to the transferee for gain and loss purposes. The second deals with the status of the transferee, and I have today introduced legislation to broaden the scope of the second exception to include such transferees as the spouse, former spouse, parent, lineal descendant, or adopted child of the insured or the shareholder of a corporation when the policy is transferred as part of a buy and sell agreement for corporate stock.

All of these additional transferees which are included in my proposal would have an insurable interest in the insured in any situation. They could take out a policy of such as the one transferred to them without having the proceeds taxable. This bill would equalize treatment for a new policy and a transferred policy.

Because of the present state of the tax laws, transfers covered by this extension rarely occur, the tax detriment being what it is. Thus, enactment of this bill, which is supported by the three major life insurance trade associations, would cause little or no revenue loss to the Government.

A BILL TO EQUALIZE TAXATION ON REDEMPTION OF PREFERRED STOCK

Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced an amendment to section 302(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 dealing with the income tax treatment of the proceeds received in the redemption of preferred stock. To the extent that the proceeds do not exceed the amount paid in to the corporation on the issuance of such stock, the amendment provides that these proceeds shall be treated as a distribution in part or full payment in exchange for the stock and not as a dividend.

My amendment to the Internal Revenue Code is made necessary because of

the distinction now made between the proceeds of preferred stock in differing situations. Under the present law, in certain cases, redemption of preferred stock is treated for tax purposes as return on capital, while in others this redemption on the same stock is treated as dividends and taxed accordingly. This distinction is based only upon whether the owner of preferred stock owns in addition a substantially proportionate ratio of common stock. If he does, the proceeds on the preferred stock are treated as dividends for tax purposes, while if he does not, these same proceeds are treated as return on capital. My amendment would remove this arbitrary distinction and permit proceeds on preferred stock, insofar as it represents capital invested in money or goods, to be treated as a return of capital.

Preferred stock is in reality a cross between common stock and bonds. However, the same reasoning which underlies the present distinction among owners of preferred stock and common stock does not apply to holders of both bonds and the common stock, so long as the bonds represent true indebtedness and the equity capital is sufficient for the needs of the corporation.

The present taxation of the income derived from the redemption of preferred stock as dividend income turns some corporations, especially closely held family corporations, to debt financing rather than equity financing when further investment is needed. A change in the system of taxation of the redemption proceeds of paid-for preferred stock would have the beneficial effect of making equity financing more attractive to the corporation and, in the long run, produce greater tax revenues.

The taxation of capital return as distinguished from interest or dividends paid on that capital is contrary to our Constitution. This amendment would assure proper tax treatment for the redemption of all preferred stock.

A BILL TO EQUALIZE THE TAX TREATMENT OF COMMERCIAL BANKS, SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS, AND MUTUAL SAVINGS BANKS

Mr. Speaker, legislation enacted in 1962 recognized the inequitable situation then existing whereby savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks were virtually free from the Federal corporation income tax. The 1962 enactment apparently has failed to attain its full purpose. It permitted savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks to deduct as bad-debt loss reserves a substantially larger part of their taxable income than that permitted the commercial banks. There seemed to be and still seems to be sound reasons for some differential treatment. However, the prospective revenue yield from the measure had been estimated by the Treasury at \$200 million—\$168 million from savings and loan associations and \$32 million from mutual savings banks—but actual collections for the year 1963 were only about \$98 million.

The commercial banks still argue that an inequity exists in this bad-debt differential and results in an unfair competitive position. There has been some argument to increase the amount that commercial banks should be allowed to

deduct as bad debt. However, because of the unexpected small amount of revenue derived from the 1962 enactment, the other aspect of the problem that of an unrealistically high figure for the savings and loan and mutual banks needs further looking into. Certainly in the interest of all the financial institutions, the Congress should review the entire situation.

In order to bring this matter before the Congress, I am introducing H.R. 7585. It is a simple measure. It merely removes the present allowance for bad-debt loss reserve deductions by savings and loan associations and mutual savings banks and permits them to use the same bad-debt loss reserve deduction formula now applicable to commercial banks.

In my opinion, enactment of this bill amended to provide possibly for some increase in bad-debt reserves for commercial banks and possibly leaving some differential to reflect valid differences existing in the bad-debt reserves of the different financial institutions, will provide more equitable basis for the taxation of the competing financial institutions, savings and loan associations, mutual savings banks, and commercial banks. The total result should also lighten somewhat the burden on all other taxpayers by broadening the tax base and producing additional revenue.

A BILL TO EQUALIZE THE TAX TREATMENT OF CO-OPS

Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill to equalize the tax status of cooperative corporations with that of other incorporated businesses. The different Federal tax treatment of these two forms of doing business has created an artificial competitive advantage for one over the other. Although there is some economic and social justification for giving preferential tax treatment to the small farm marketing or purchasing co-op which remains, by its small size truly a cooperative organization, there seems to be no justification for the preferential treatment to the mammoth cooperatives that have sprung up largely as the result of the preferential tax treatment they receive. This bill will also produce additional revenue for the Federal Government which would reduce somewhat the fiscal burden of all other taxpayers.

While the Congress recently partially reduced the preferential tax treatment of co-ops, under the present law, a cooperative still can escape taxation of the business income earned by distributing 20 percent of net earnings in cash to its patrons. Thus the cooperatives avoid most of the tax that is paid by other business corporations at rates up to 48 percent of their earnings. The cooperatives' patrons, however, are required to report as individual income 100 percent of their share in the cooperatives' earnings even though they may receive less than enough in cash to pay their tax obligation thus incurred.

As matters now stand, hardly anyone is satisfied with these provisions of the 1962 Revenue Act, which purport to tax cooperative income either to the cooperative or to its patrons. The patrons can complain that it is unjustifiable to require them to pay tax in excess of the

cash they receive as part of their patronage dividends, the Treasury is deprived of the opportunity to collect the tax at the source, and businessmen are disappointed because they believe that cooperative income should be taxed in the same way as the income of any other corporation in order that there will be competitive fairness.

Cooperative leaders claim that there should be a single tax on income, and that it should be at either the cooperative level or the patron level. I agree with this in principle, provided it is equally applicable to the earnings and dividends of all corporate businesses. This would be the single tax on corporate earnings that many of us would like to see displace the present double taxation of such earnings when they are distributed. But I believe we recognize, as realists, that the elimination of this double taxation is not at present at all likely. As long as the double taxation of corporate earnings continues for the sake of fairness in competition, it should be equally applicable to the earnings of all corporate business, cooperative corporations and ordinary corporations which compete with each other.

My bill provides for the taxation of cooperative corporations and their owner-patrons in the same way as ordinary corporations and their owners are taxed. However, it would exempt from the income tax—just as the original exemption of cooperatives, many years ago, was intended to do—those small groups of farmers who may join together to assist each other in the sale of the individual farmer's products and the purchase of supplies that the individual farmer needs. Where such cooperative activity is this type of business operation, and the individual farmer has dominion over his own transactions, it would not be subject to the income tax.

If the earnings of cooperatives were subject to tax at both the cooperative level and the patron level, as proposed, patronage dividends, like the dividends of ordinary corporations, would be excluded from the income of the recipients up to \$100—or \$200 in the case of a joint return. This is already permitted under the present law. As comparatively few members of cooperatives receive more than \$100 a year of patronage dividends, there still would be, to a large extent, a single tax on the cooperatives' earnings, but it would apply where the impact of the tax should fall, directly to the cooperatives themselves.

The original intent of Congress to exempt from the income tax small groups of farmers that act for themselves has been so magnified and extended that it has become a tax "loophole" of major proportions, causing a revenue loss to the Government of millions of dollars each year. This constitutes a subsidy to the cooperative form of doing business at the expense of all other taxpayers, and gives this form an unwarranted competitive advantage over other forms of doing business.

The tax preference that this bill would remedy, if continued, endangers continuation of the free competitive enterprise as we know it. After all there is little distinction between the operation

of a cooperative organization with hundreds and even thousands of "patrons" and a corporation with hundreds and even thousands of stockholders. Both organizations are essentially run by management and the patrons and stockholders actually have little to say about the running of the organization, particularly if it is prospering and growing. The only difference is that the patrons of a cooperative vote and elect management on the basis of a per capita voting system regardless of the number of patron shares they own while the stockholders of a corporation vote by the number of shares they own. Once either of these organizations have grown to substantial size with many owners, diffuse and unorganized as they are, management runs the show and perpetuates itself. There seems to be no economic or social justification in preferring this one form of doing business, the cooperative, over the corporation.

A BILL TO EQUALIZE THE TAX CLASSIFICATIONS OF DEBIT LIFE INSURANCE SALESMEN

Mr. Speaker, under the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, those who are classified as "outside salesmen" are allowed to take as deductions from gross income, the ordinary and necessary expenses of their business activities. What this means, in effect, is that having this status, one may take this form of deduction to reach adjusted gross income and then may take either the standard 10-percent deduction or his itemized deductions to compute his taxable income.

At present, most life insurance salesmen are classified as outside salesmen. One group, however, the so-called debit life insurance salesmen, are not and, because of the similarity in the job and the means of doing it between debit salesmen and other life insurance salesmen, I have today introduced an amendment to section 62(2)(D) of the Internal Revenue Code to equalize treatment of these two groups.

Both of these groups of insurance salesmen must hold the same license for their profession and both sell basically the same lines of insurance. The debit agent, however, sells industrial insurance in addition to the other lines of insurance. These sales involve work away from the employer's place of business and much out-of-pocket expense for the agent. Industrial life insurance is subject to cancellation at will by the insured and the premiums on it are small and fall due weekly or monthly. The agent must collect the premiums and each collection is, in essence, a new sale. These debit agents are salesmen primarily and not collectors and drawing a distinction between them and other insurance agents on the basis of a collateral collection function is unwarranted for purposes of the outside salesmen section of the Internal Revenue Code.

THE WAR OVER POVERTY

Mr. ERLÉNORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there

objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, I commend to my fellow Members in the House and others interested the pamphlet "The War Over Poverty" written by Carl H. Madden, delivered at the recent symposium of antipoverty programs at Duke University.

Dr. Madden's paper is an incisive analysis into the prevailing philosophy, statistics, and rhetoric of our current efforts to combat poverty while offering the suggestion that success in the past as well as in the future involves focusing on opportunity, not deprivation. Dr. Madden's paper is invaluable in assessing the performance of the Federal antipoverty program, and provides needed perspective for the evaluation of current proposals such as the "negative income tax."

Dr. Madden's paper follows:

THE WAR OVER POVERTY*

(By Carl H. Madden)**

The war on poverty is becoming a war over poverty. A struggle is being waged over the approach to alleviating poverty. The war over poverty could create a new social structure in our changing cities. Even more important, it could decide the fate of the developing revolution in our concepts of social welfare.

That revolution, not fully understood, would replace the relief dole as a major approach to treating poverty. It would substitute the positive policy goal of more human development, within a framework of rapid and stable economic growth, for the static or redistributional welfare concepts.

I

No one knows how many Americans are poor. It is most probably not two-fifths or even one-fifth of our population, as early writers in the current "war," such as Keyserling and Harrington, argued. Their numerical definition (Keyserling: family income under \$4,000 per year; Harrington: family income under \$3,000) of poverty was wrong. Their numbers were therefore wrong. And so, also, was the picture they created of America and American life. This is made clear by an authoritative interpretation of the 1960 census by the former director of the U.S. Census Bureau.¹

* The views expressed in this paper do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity or the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

** A.B. 1942, M.A. 1952, Ph.D. 1954, University of Virginia. Director of Research, Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

I should like to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Mr. Richard L. Breaux, Associate Director of Research, Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, in preparing this paper.

¹ For Keyserling and Harrington's definitions, see LEON H. KEYSERLING, *POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION IN THE UNITED STATES—THE FLIGHT OF TWO-FIFTHS OF A NATION* (1962); MICHAEL HARRINGTON, *THE OTHER AMERICA* (1962). For the refutation of their views, see BEN J. WATTENBERG & RICHARD M. SCAMMON, *THIS U.S.A. 130-51* (1965). Keyserling's "under-\$4,000 per year" for families and Harrington's "under-\$3,000 per year" for families were both admittedly arbitrary; the point, however, is that, as Scammon, a former Director of the U.S. Bureau of the Census, writes, no numerical definition of poverty is correct.

Poverty, a harsh word, is defined as "the condition of being poor: lack of what is needed." This dictionary meaning is more accurate than any numerical definition. In terms of needs such as food, shelter, clothing, medical treatment, education, entertainment, and personal transportation, there is not as much poverty in the United States as has come to be believed.

This is made clear by Scammon's analysis of 1960 census data. Today few Americans suffer from lack of food because of deprivation. By 1960, only 6.8 per cent of American dwelling units were dilapidated. Even Michael Harrington acknowledged that the problem of lack of clothing is largely gone, in arguing that U.S. poverty is largely "invisible." Further, the 1960 census reports that almost three-quarters of families with incomes under \$4,000 per year have washing machines to wash their clothes.

Medical treatment is potentially available to Americans of all income classes; and the poor for the most part share in public health and sanitation programs, in effect throughout the country. From 1961 to 1963, ninety-nine per cent of thirteen-year-olds were in school, as were ninety-seven per cent of fifteen-year-olds and ninety-one per cent of sixteen-year-olds. A census study of October 1960 showed that nineteen per cent of youth from families with less than \$5,000 annual income got into college; this is about one in five, compared with a national rate for all incomes of thirty-one per cent or about one and one-half in five. As of May 1964, ninety-three per cent of American homes had television sets. By 1960, almost sixty per cent of families with less than \$4,000 annual income had automobiles available. All these facts and others reported by the 1960 census, now five years old, are analyzed by Scammon.²

This does not mean that the problem of poverty in the United States should be underestimated or that its alleviation should not be a major policy goal. It does mean that the problem has in fact been exaggerated and distorted in many people's minds. The fact that the nation can undertake the major effort of minimizing poverty with such a high probability of success is itself a blessing unique in the history of great nations. Even so, as Scammon puts it:

"That poverty is not a major malignant disease, that the nation is not overrun by a huge, seething, hopeless invisible quintile of poor people—this, too, apparently needs public articulation. One of the reasons the 'poor' are so 'invisible,' as Harrington states, is that there may be far fewer than have been written about."³

Harrington, associate editor of the socialist journal *Dissent*, was limited by lack of data in his interpretation. Poverty in the United States, as of now, is not measured accurately, and it could be measured much more accurately at low cost. This would require taking into account such variables as family composition, family size, age of family head, farm-nonfarm living, urban-suburban-rural living, size of city, and regional differences in living standards.⁴ Approaches by Orshansky and Friedman,⁵ admittedly still not adequate, are marked improvements over the faulty data that launched the war on poverty. Some government statisticians would sup-

press regional or other differences among families because they favor "national norms," similar to social security and the minimum wage. If this position does not implicitly violate the basic methodology of science, it at least begs the question of measurement.

U.S. poverty is not a mass phenomenon, but a problem of specific individuals, families, and groups with "poverty-linked" characteristics. Far from being a single problem, poverty is linked with other difficult domestic issues, such as race, discrimination by sex, unemployment, education, sickness-disability-old age, agriculture, depressed areas, and regional differences.⁶

The United States was making much progress against poverty before the war on poverty began. It is still doing so, and the major source of that progress has been and is economic growth at high levels of employment. Smolensky has shown that, using a variable definition reflecting the changing national consensus, poverty declined by more than thirty-five per cent towards complete elimination in this century. Smolensky found further that high growth and employment rates led to a more rapid rise in the definitional level of poverty, but also that poverty declines faster as the definitional level rises faster.⁷

It is elementary that when everyone's income rises, the gain of the poor is most significant in human terms. Says Scammon:

"Much of our recent income revolution has involved precisely such [poor] families moving from the lower classes into the middle classes. . . . Thus, in 1947, 64 per cent of U.S. families lived on less than \$5,000 per year. In 1963 that figure was reduced to 37 per cent (constant 1963 dollars)."⁸

Because the well-off have gotten better off, the fact that the poor have gotten better off is obscured.

The shift since 1947 in people occupying the lowest end of the income distribution casts grave doubt on the Harrington thesis of a "culture of poverty." People in this quintile, according to Scammon, are more likely now to be old people, two-person families, and young individuals. Some of these people, such as young students, both single and married, are themselves moving through the lowest quintile, not without hope for the future. Further, these are people getting better off, not worse off, but only at a slower rate than others. Finally, they are people whose needs, by and large, are less than families with children, whose place they have taken in the lowest quintile.

Before the war on poverty, large sums were being spent to help the poor. Some sources have estimated that in 1964 Americans earmarked \$31 billion for federal antipoverty programs alone.⁹ When one adds funds spent by states, counties, cities, and philanthropies, it may well be that Americans, before the war on poverty, were spending more to help the poor than on any other single national purpose except national defense. In December 1965 the Office of Economic Opportunity released a 414-page inventory of federal programs totalling \$21 billion to help poor individuals and groups.

How can the poor be helped? First, it should be clear that the basic source of potential progress against poverty is an increase in per capita real output and income. This, in turn, means that output must grow faster than population; otherwise, no matter what measures are taken to help the poor,

² WATTENBERG & SCAMMON, *op. cit. supra* note 1, at 135-37.

³ *Id.* at 138.

⁴ TASK FORCE ON ECONOMIC GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, *THE CONCEPT OF POVERTY 16-19* (1965) [hereinafter cited as *THE CONCEPT OF POVERTY*] recommends a more careful definition of poverty.

⁵ Orshansky, *Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile*, Social Security Bull., Jan. 1965, p. 3; ROSE D. FRIEDMAN, *POVERTY: DEFINITION AND PERSPECTIVE* (1965).

⁶ *THE CONCEPT OF POVERTY 5-7*. See also WATTENBERG & SCAMMON, *op. cit. supra* note 1, at 138-39.

⁷ Smolensky, *The Past and Present Poor*, in *THE CONCEPT OF POVERTY 33, 35-36*.

⁸ WATTENBERG & SCAMMON, *op. cit. supra* note 1, at 142.

⁹ *THE WAR ON POVERTY: A HANDBOOK 28* (National Catholic Coordinating Committee on Economic Opportunity, 1964).

the real incomes of the society in general will not rise. Rising productivity in a society, therefore, is basic to its ability to reduce poverty.

Given rising productivity, national policy has available three basic ways to relieve poverty: income redistribution, area development, and human development.

To redistribute income is to transfer wealth or income from the nonpoor to the poor, however defined, for the purpose of providing living standards considered adequate by social norms. Income redistribution does not of itself increase the nation's total income; it reallocates what is available. An example is the Old-Age Assistance Program of the Social Security Act.¹⁰

Area development, as used against poverty, is an attempt to raise the income of poor people in a geographical area through raising total income in that area by investment in natural resources or physical capital goods without regard for market criteria. *Area development rests on two assumptions which can be questioned.* The first is that non-market investment in specific geographical areas will in fact be more productive in those areas than it would have been in market uses in other areas. The second assumption is that such investment in specific geographical areas will raise the incomes of poor people in those areas. An example of area development is the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.¹¹

Human development, as an antipoverty approach, tries to raise total income through investment in people, especially the poor, in order to increase their individual productivity. It rests on the assumption that investment in human beings will raise their income without reducing society's total income. An example is the Vocational Rehabilitation Act.¹²

A. Prevalence of income redistribution

By far oldest and most prevalent, income redistribution as the relief dole stems from our Anglo-Saxon heritage and goes back to the Elizabethan Poor Law. Its motive was combined compassion and fear of disturbance,¹³ not economic reasoning. Poverty was viewed as derived either from acts of God, personal weakness, or personal wickedness. If the poor are themselves to blame for their lot in life, or if God's will is at work, it is wasteful for society to invest in human development programs; it suffices to provide such people bare subsistence as a matter of conscience and to prevent disorder.

Dominance of the relief dole approach in this country well into the twentieth century rested on several factors. Among them were the English poor law concept, the Puritan ethic, the rags-to-riches epic of European immigrants, the strong optimism of people of enterprise in a secure and developing subcontinent, the prevalence of jobs calling for strong backs, and a social milieu of swift upward mobility for most.

B. Impact of the great depression

Millions of proud and self-respecting Americans, thrown into poverty through conditions beyond their control in the Great Depression, began to see poverty differently. Clearly the culprit was management of the economy, not personal weakness. The new national attitude, that poverty was remediable, took shape in New Deal measures such as public works employment, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and others to treat re-

mediable poverty, and Social Security to make irremediable poverty less onerous. Today, the personal weakness concept of poverty has all but received the coup de grace. The Second World War showed that only a tiny handful of able-bodied people refuse to work when jobs they can fill are available. It also showed paradoxical progress against poverty despite the enormous waste of war, as real living standards rose with total output.

Yet New Deal measures were experimental, often mutually inconsistent, and stemmed more from strong conviction of a need to act than from purposeful and integrated movement of thought. A deeper conviction, not yet firmly articulated, is based not only on progress since the Great Depression but also on growing knowledge of the economy. This conviction holds that the motive force behind economic growth is application of science and technology to a market-based economy. It holds that scientific methods of analysis and standards of data-gathering and use can be extended to social organization. It holds that policy-making based upon reasoned and informed consensus within such a framework can resolve problems of poverty by combining rapid and stable economic growth in the market economy with intensive development of productive potentials of human beings, viewed not only as human economic resources but also as ends in themselves.

C. The scientific revolution and progress against poverty

When Malthus wrote about population, he assumed that it would increase faster than the food supply. The pessimistic conclusion from his theory for social policy, leading Carlyle to describe economics as "the dismal science," was that attempts to increase the welfare of the poor were self-defeating. The poor, given more than bare subsistence, would only multiply until, by an iron law, they fell back to bare subsistence once more. The only hope for Malthusians was for checks to population growth through moral restraint rather than the wars, famine, and disease that were the only grim alternative checks.

The history of technology in the Western world since the early nineteenth century, when Malthus wrote, dramatically refutes the inevitability of his theories. Thus, today, the scientist Berkner can write: "Man now sees—almost within his grasp—the promise of a society beyond the dreams of the sage and poet."¹⁴

In the past century, advances in science and technology have brought revolutionary changes in the living patterns and social institutions of the Western world. New discoveries have given means to solve or alleviate a vast array of human and social problems while they have given men unprecedented power over nature, life, and death. They have reduced hunger and disease, increased the span and numbers of lives on earth, lifted the burden of hard manual labor, ended the economic need or benefit of slavery; and they have given man the chance to reach the age-old ideal of a life freed from base want and scarcity.

This science- and technology-based revolution has been led by nations whose social organization stimulates the application of technology to meeting consumer demands. In the United States, a free market system within a governmental framework of diffused political power and ideals of freedom provides the needed economic organization. The basic principle of a free market system is that people are free to buy and consume what they wish and to produce and sell what they wish. People as consumers try to maximize the satisfaction from their limited incomes; the same people as producers try to

maximize their income gained from using limited resources and capabilities. The efforts of these two groups interact to set prices of consumer goods and productive services so that the relation between any two prices measures their relative scarcity or abundance in satisfying wants.

This system has achieved high productivity in developing economic innovations. Such innovations are not inventions but successful application of invention to meet people's needs as they are expressed in markets. Innovations in such a society are the result of people, acting in their self-interest, adjusting to complex relations between prices and costs, to change such relations to their own benefit. Successful innovations are subject to economic forces. In fact, the relations between prices give a strong incentive to producers to anticipate wants, to change their habits, to eschew complacency, and to use opportunities of whatever kind to meet market demands.

The use of new ways to produce goods and services leads to higher real incomes for society. The scientific revolution of today is marked by waves of innovation as new industries emerge and grow, displacing older ones with multiplied productive power. The record of history confirms this development. Populations are growing at rates of two per cent per year, a doubling time of forty years compared to 200 years at the time of our American Revolution. Science and medicine, joined together, have reduced death rates faster than birth rates can be checked, multiplying mouths to feed.

Yet standards of living have risen dramatically in industrial countries. U.S. agriculture is almost wholly mechanized, its productivity having risen many-fold through intensive use of biology, chemistry, and mechanics in farming. From 1860 to 1960 the farm population declined from seventy to seven per cent of the U.S. total. We enjoy enormously increased production of basic fuels and minerals, employ exotic ones, and create new ones. The ability to produce of industry gains steadily at rates estimated at 2.5 to 3.5 per cent per year.

The impact of innovation has produced great changes in the labor force. The service industries¹⁵ now account for more than half the nation's employment, now growing "far more rapidly than in the rest of the economy."¹⁶ As manufacturing becomes more efficient, the labor force shifts to the expanding services sector, providing more convenience, professional and personal care, and government services, including education, to our people.

Fears that automation will produce mass unemployment and new poverty are a will-o-the-wisp. After a year-long study, a blue-ribbon presidential commission on automation found that technological change presents no basic threat to employment that cannot be overcome by vigorous fiscal policies to spur economic growth.¹⁷ The commission's conclusion recognizes the basic economic lesson of the Great Depression: that to achieve full employment in a progressive society, the total monetary demand of business, consumers, and government must match the society's productive potential. Aggregate desired employment levels can be achieved by appropriate monetary and fiscal policies that match total monetary demand

¹⁰ Section 202, 49 Stat. 623 (1935), as amended, 42 U.S.C. § 402 (1964).

¹¹ 79 Stat. 5, 40 U.S.C.A. App. A (Supp. 1965).

¹² 68 Stat. 652 (1954), as amended, 29 U.S.C. §§ 31-42 (1964).

¹³ See D. A. MacINTYRE, PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, TOO MUCH OR TOO LITTLE ch. 2 (N.Y. State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University Bull. 53-I, 1964).

¹⁴ L. V. BERKNER, THE SCIENTIFIC AGE 129 (1964).

¹⁵ The service industries are defined to include wholesale and retail trade, finance, insurance, real estate, professional services, repair services, personal services, and general government.

¹⁶ Fuchs, *Productivity in the Service Industries*, in NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH FORTY-FOURTH ANN. REP. II (1964).

¹⁷ NATIONAL COMMISSION ON TECHNOLOGY, AUTOMATION, AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS, TECHNOLOGY AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY, REPORT 189-92 (1966).

with productive potential at a stable price level.

The presidential commission's views are supported by many other studies.¹⁸ Those who, in wild exaggeration, have created an automation hysteria have done the nation a disservice by muddy thinking unsupported by factual evidence.¹⁹ The burden of proof that automation is a new threat auguring mass unemployment rests on those who claim it vitiates all past experience with technological change.

It must be recognized, however, that technological change involves inherent costs as well as benefits. Among these, such change in the short run and at the level of individual industries destroys jobs. If the shift from old to new industries is slow or inefficient, both economy and workers are penalized in loss of output and income. Therefore, it is sound public policy to improve labor mobility, job market efficiency, and structural adjustment of the labor force. Easing structural adjustments and keeping

¹⁸ Such scholars include staff experts of *Fortune* magazine, in a series of articles on technology. "Technology and the Labor Market," Jan. 1965 to Aug. 1965; George Terborgh, economist of the Machinery and Allied Products Institute, in his book, *THE AUTOMATION HYSTERIA* (1965); Ewan Clague, U.S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics; and the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

According to Mr. Clague, for example, "Technological as such does not result in a net loss of jobs in the economy. It does destroy the jobs and occupations of individual workers; but it creates new jobs and occupations which require workers." See *What Employment Statistics Show, Automation*, April 1964, p. 95.

According to the Council of Economic Advisers, "Technological change permits any given level of output to be produced with less labor and, in that sense, destroys jobs. But it also provides a significant spur to investment and consumption and thus creates jobs. . . . Historically periods of rapid technological change have generally been periods of high and rising employment." COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS, ANNUAL REPORT 95 (1964).

¹⁹ Examples of wild exaggeration can be found in DONALD N. MICHAEL, *CYBERNATION: THE SILENT CONQUEST* 15 (1962); in *Hearings on the Nation's Manpower Revolution Before the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare*, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., pt. 5, at 1649 (1963) (prepared statement of John I. Snyder, Jr., Chairman and President of U.S. Industries, Inc.); and *THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION* (reprint of a statement by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution, P.O. Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California, 1964).

The statement of the Ad Hoc Committee is perhaps the most extreme. The Committee includes W. H. Ferry, Vice President, Fund for the Republic; Michael Harrington, author, *THE OTHER AMERICA* (1962); Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish economist; Ben B. Seligman, Retail Clerks International; Linus Pauling, chemist-pacifist; and Norman Thomas, Socialist leader. The Committee states that because of the technical revolution, "the industrial productive system is no longer viable . . . the traditional link between jobs and incomes is being broken. The economy of abundance can sustain all citizens in comfort and economic security whether or not they engage in what is commonly reckoned as work." Committee proposals include "a massive program to build up our educational system . . . massive public works . . . a massive program of low-cost housing, and . . . the conscious and rational direction of economic life by planning institutions under democratic control." *THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION*, op. cit. supra at 10-13.

total monetary demand roughly equal with national productive capacity are closely related. It is important to promote the flexibility and adaptability of the work force. It is also important to provide for those unable to meet the demands of the labor market—the sick, the disabled, the aged.²⁰

And it is important to keep fiscal and monetary policies effectively matching total spending and productive capacity. There is no intrinsic reason that an increase in our ability to produce should not lead to an actual increase in production. Indeed, we need more and faster technological change in order to raise living standards; to provide more goods and services, more leisure, a more satisfying work environment; and to enable us to solve the problems created by technical advance.

Thus, the basic means of minimizing poverty is stable and rapid economic growth, with more emphasis on human development to provide skills needed in a scientific and service-oriented age, and with institutions that minimize disruptions caused by increased mobility. It is our capacity to grow faster that gives the sine qua non for alleviating poverty; it is upgraded human skills that makes ability out of capacity. Further, as John Dunlop has pointed out, our productive potentials "underscore the common gains to be shared by increasing productivity and the possibilities of insuring adequately those who bear the costs of the adverse initial impacts of some technological changes."²¹

III

Human development to combat poverty is not a new concept in this country. From the vision of William Penn and Thomas Jefferson until today our public school system is an attempt to develop the human resources needed to build a great nation. And from the Northwest Territory Ordinance in 1787 until today, when ninety-nine percent of our thirteen-year-olds are in school, Americans have followed the mandate laid down in that Ordinance, that "means of education shall forever be encouraged," as well as upholding—not without strife—its ideals of social and political democracy.²² The Morrill Act of 1862,²³ fathered by Michigan farmers, set up land grant colleges to develop human resources needed to tap our food-producing potential and provide needed engineering skills to supplement humanistic and scientific education in private and state universities. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914,²⁴ setting up the Agricultural Extension Service, and the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917,²⁵ providing vocational education in agriculture, likewise fostered human development. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965,²⁶ though it places the federal government into traditionally state areas of responsibility, recognizes the national interest in the education of citizens, poor as well as not-so-poor.

But early efforts to develop human skills were focused on opportunity, not deprivation. Only since the poverty concept revolution of the Great Depression have we given serious thought to developing human resources as a specific way to fight poverty. In fact, we see

²⁰ See TASK FORCE ON ECONOMIC GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, *POVERTY: THE SICK, DISABLED AND AGED* (1965).

²¹ Dunlop, *Introduction to AUTOMATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE* 1, 3 (Dunlop ed. 1962).

²² Northwest Territory Ordinance art. 3, 12 JOURNAL OF THE U.S. CONGRESS 85, 90 (1787).

²³ 12 Stat. 503 (1862), as amended, 7 U.S.C. §§ 301-05, 307-08 (1964).

²⁴ 38 Stat. 372 (1914), as amended, 7 U.S.C. §§ 341-43, 344-46, 348 (1964).

²⁵ 39 Stat. 929 (1917), as amended, 20 U.S.C. §§ 11-15, 16-28 (1964).

²⁶ 79 Stat. 27, 20 U.S.C.A. §§ 234-44, 331-32b, 821-85 (Supp. 1965).

the first national application of this approach in the George-Barden Act of 1946,²⁷ the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1954,²⁸ the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962,²⁹ the Vocational Education Act of 1963,³⁰ and certain programs since then. If poverty is, however, a problem of specific individuals, families, and groups with "poverty-linked" characteristics, and if science promises further economic growth for the society, giving means to alleviate poverty and insure against disruptions of technological change, it follows that antipoverty efforts should emphasize remedying personal deficiencies, imparting personal abilities, in order to help people become more productive and so share directly through their own efforts in society's economic advance. The purpose—as distinct from the programs—of the Economic Opportunity Act³¹ reflects this concept, which has considerable merit.

A. Human development versus other approaches

The debate about the merits of guaranteed annual incomes—a sophisticated version of relief doles—whether as "negative income taxes," for the poor, or "demograts" making up universal grants to all citizens, or in other forms—challenges the human development approach. Proponents offer many reasons for such guarantees. Perhaps the most persuasive is that they are more efficient and less demeaning than present complex welfare programs with their often offensive and arbitrary eligibility conditions and hodge-podge benefit levels among states, counties, and cities.

Certainly, the need for such grants as a response to automation can be sharply questioned along lines argued above, and needs no further elaboration. Further, grants do not strike at today's poverty-causing conditions. Grants do not reduce job or union discrimination by color or sex, nor increase education, skills, or work discipline.

In effect, the guaranteed-income approach begs an important question if used for more than cutting red tape. The market system takes the individual as given—assuming the participants are rational, knowledgeable, and have initiative; and it promises favorable results on this assumption. Yet, in fact, individuals are complex and importantly influenced by their environment. It is callous to assume a degree of knowledge and initiative by today's poor which ignores environmental factors; to leave them isolated and dangling at the end of a new-fangled welfare check. Human development offers opportunity; while it is more expensive, it has merits recognized throughout our history.

Area development also challenges the human development approach. The Appalachian Regional Development Act sets aside eighty per cent of its authorized \$1-billion-plus for roads. This comes when Appalachia requires more than 100 more vocational-technical schools.³² The Appalachian Act concept raises several difficult questions. Why should high-cost roads in Appalachia built in the hope of generating demand, yield higher returns to society than less costly roads built to meet pressing demands elsewhere? Why should road-building, that creates temporary jobs for skilled workmen and highly organized construction companies, help the poor in Appalachia? Indeed, why should the nation's poverty efforts

²⁷ 60 Stat. 775 (1946), as amended, 20 U.S.C. §§ 151-15m, 150-15q (1964).

²⁸ 68 Stat. 662 (1954), as amended, 29 U.S.C. §§ 31-42 (1964).

²⁹ 76 Stat. 23, as amended, 42 U.S.C. §§ 2571-2620 (1964).

³⁰ 77 Stat. 403, 20 U.S.C. §§ 15aa, bb, aaa, 35-35n (1964).

³¹ 78 Stat. 508 (1964) 42 U.S.C. § 2701 (1964).

³² See THE CONCEPT OF POVERTY 14

go to help entire geographic areas and regions when it is specific people in them who are poor? Is it areas or people who are poor?

Area development promises to become competitive for federal funds. Already, such regions as New England, the Ozarks, the Upper Midwest, and still others are prepared to follow the route of Appalachia. Government officials privately admit that in guiding the Appalachian act through Congress, roads were "easier to sell" than vocational schools. Current programs in urban renewal, farm subsidies, public works, and the like suggest that area redevelopment is far from taking a back seat. It hardly needs documenting here that public works tend to follow political influence. It is likely, indeed, that major federal subsidy programs have tended to redistribute income from the poor to the not-so-poor.

B. The economic opportunity administration

As it is turning out, the Economic Opportunity Act may well be a poor vehicle for testing the human development concept. For one thing, it is not much of a test. Seen in the perspective of our country's great accomplishments in education, training, and welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), for all its strident publicity, is small potatoes. Beyond that, the act was hurriedly pieced together;³³ many of its offerings are old or duplicate existing programs;³⁴ it has spent its money mainly for administration;³⁵

³³ Reports in congressional hearings on the act indicate that it was drafted in six weeks; testimony of Sargent Shriver does not deny that it was put together in a hurry. A consultant serving on the task force that drew up the Economic Opportunity Act, in seeking cooperation from this author, replied to questions about the need for study: "We haven't got time to study; we have to act." The majority leadership of the House Committee on Education and Labor, when OEO legislation was reviewed and OEO's appropriation doubled in 1965, admitted that a complete study of the act was not possible—a study that had been assured the year before when the majority was pushing for quick passage of the act. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 111, pt. 13, p. 17508.

³⁴ The Job Corps duplicates in large part the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s; it overlaps current measures such as the Manpower Development and Training Act, 76 Stat. 23 (1962), as amended, 42 U.S.C. §§ 2571-620 (1964), and the Vocational Educational Act of 1963, 77 Stat. 403, 20 U.S.C. §§ 15aa, bb, aaa, 35-35n (1964), which offer manpower retraining programs. The Work-Training (Neighborhood Youth Corps) program of the OEO also overlaps the same earlier acts. The College Work-Study program under OEO seems to duplicate the student loan program under National Defense Education Act §§ 201-03, 72 Stat. 1583 (1958), as amended, 20 U.S.C. §§ 421-29 (1964).

The Adult Basic Education program, the special programs to Combat Poverty in Rural Areas, Employment and Investment Incentives, and Work Experience programs duplicate in some degree programs existing before the act was passed. The inventory of programs to help people and groups in poverty, available from the federal government, released by OEO in December 1965, shows 57 separate federal programs for vocational education.

³⁵ Agency data are not available. This statement is based on the nature of the act and on press reports such as that in the Washington Evening Star, Dec. 23, 1965, sec. B, p. 4, reporting that of more than \$600,000 granted Fairfax County under its community action program, only \$20,000 was for nonadministrative expense, and in the Chicago Tribune, April 15, 1966, p. 5, reporting that 49% of federal war on poverty funds spent in Chicago is to pay salaries.

It is deeply embroiled in what a former administrator terms "savage" politics;³⁶ it has been given a virtually impossible job of coordination;³⁷ its purposes are by definition apt to be confused;³⁸ and its independent life as of now seems likely to be short.³⁹

Not only duplication with other federal programs but conflict with existing institutions and philosophy could lead to failure of the Economic Opportunity Act. Such conflicts are being more frequently reported publicly, ranging from views of Saul Alinsky⁴⁰ to Rutgers University consultants of the Camp Kilmer Job Corps Center.⁴¹ Largely unreported are conflicts with existing welfare, public health, and educational agencies that are nevertheless real.

Job Corps centers, both rural and urban, give remedial education and job training in residential camps to poor youth sixteen to twenty-one in age, out of work and out of school. The average cost in fiscal 1965 for 10,000 enrollees was \$8,000 per enrollee. For its second year the Job Corps plans for 30,000 and a budget request of \$240 million—that is, about \$8,000 per enrollee.⁴² There have been reports that Job Corps enrollments are lagging; whether its training is job-related for the forty per cent of enrollees re-

³⁶ See article by William F. Haddad, formerly assistant director and inspector general of OEO, Mr. Shriver and the Savage Politics of Poverty, Harper's Magazine, Dec. 1965, p. 43.

³⁷ The OEO enabling legislation provides that OEO is to coordinate all antipoverty efforts in the federal government. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, § 611, 78 Stat. 532, 42 U.S.C. § 2961 (1964). Since poverty is a problem closely related to employment, race and sex discrimination, education, agriculture, depressed areas, and sickness-disability-old age, responsibility at the federal level is scattered throughout powerful government departments responsible to cabinet-level secretaries. To anyone familiar with organizations, it seems impossible for an independent agency head to "coordinate" policy of cabinet secretaries. As one example, OEO personnel have been reported in the press as proposing that the target for full employment, set by the Council of Economic Advisers to the President at an "interim" four per cent in 1963, now be lowered to three per cent. It is difficult to believe that, among the conflicting responsibilities of what Walter Heller called the "troika" of the old line Treasury Department, the prestigious Federal Reserve, and the influential Council, the OEO would, in fact, carry much weight.

³⁸ As Sargent Shriver explained on "Meet the Press," Dec. 19, 1965, the community action programs are locally directed by "some 700 or more" communities, and range from sponsoring newspapers (Ypsilanti, Mich.) to "work on beautification projects" (Providence, R.I.). As OEO says, "The door is always open for new programs with new approaches." *Community Action Programs*, I OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY, CONGRESSIONAL PRESENTATION 47, 48 (1965).

³⁹ In a front-page story, it was recommended by an inter-agency task force that the community action program should be transferred from OEO to the new department of Housing and Urban Development because of its deep involvement in the politics of cities. The Washington Post, Dec. 24, 1965, p. A-1.

⁴⁰ *The Professional Radical: Conversations With Saul Alinsky*, Harper's Magazine, June 1965, p. 37.

⁴¹ N.Y. Times, Nov. 17, 1965, p. 1, col. 2.

⁴² Address by George J. Vicksnins, *The War on Poverty and Federal Manpower Policies*, before the Washington chapter of the Industrial Relations Research Organization, Dec. 15, 1963, and *Community Development*, National Association for Community Development, Washington, D.C., March 1966, p. 2.

quired to be in rural camps, or indeed, for the rest of its enrollees, will be tested only with employment of trainees.

There may be deeper conflict than meets the eye in severe criticism by Rutgers professors of Camp Kilmer and its business-like job-training contractor. The criticism came close to condemning the whole concept of residential, private-industry approach. It called for central leadership from education, youth work, or welfare to replace business leadership.⁴³ In effect, the Camp Kilmer approach implies failure by (and, hence, conflict with) schools and welfare agencies in dealing with poor youth.

The largest of OEO programs in human development is the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), which served in its first year 278,000 teenagers at a cost of \$134 million.⁴⁴ It provides part-time work in "newly created jobs in non-profit or municipal agencies." By Labor Department administrative decision, the jobs pay at the rate of \$1.25 per hour. This means that some NYC youth may be receiving higher pay-rates than their parents, if parents are training under the Manpower Development and Training Act programs. The NYC programs, through the restrictiveness of work opportunities, are not immune from political abuse, inviting as they do municipal governments to hire young people in newly created jobs. Again, the existence of NYC implies failure of public schools in developing sound work habits and attitudes among poor youth.

The Work Experience program for people on relief rolls, involved about 80,000 at a total cost of over \$100 million in fiscal 1965. An example of the program is given by a million-dollar grant to Rhode Island for 1,000 men and women to receive, among other things, "training in good work habits and attitudes . . . and training through beautification activity as nurserymen, gardeners, and truckdrivers."⁴⁵ While these are valuable occupations in an increasingly service-oriented economy, it is not yet clear that, in general, training in the Work Experience program is well matched with market needs.

The VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) program, with only about 2,100 enrollees, implies that a new corps of workers is needed to supplement the efforts of social workers, efforts that presumably fall short of the mark. However, VISTA has so far proved remarkably unsuccessful in attracting and holding volunteers, compared with initial claims.

If the above "war on poverty" programs are successful, they could lead to far-reaching changes in our traditional institutions. Buttressed by other federal manpower programs such as Manpower Development and Training, Vocational Education, and so on, the "war on poverty" programs could create a new educational and welfare concept and structure in our society. The controversy they create, even if moving in the right direction, could create formidable obstacles to OEO success.

An even greater source of conflict is title two of the Economic Opportunity Act,⁴⁶ the general Community Action Program (CAP), for here political organizations are being challenged. This is the title which, in many communities, is turning the war on poverty into a war over poverty. It is the title of the act which led Adam Clayton Powell to speak of "giant fiestas of political patronage," and which William Haddad linked with "savage"

⁴³ *Trouble in the Job Corps—Report from a Showplace*, U.S. News & World Report, Dec. 27, 1965, p. 51.

⁴⁴ Vicksnins, *supra* note 42.

⁴⁵ *Hearings on Supplemental Appropriation Bill, 1966 Before Subcommittees of the House Committee on Appropriations*, 89th Cong., 1st Sess., pt. 2, at 394 (1965).

⁴⁶ 78 Stat. 516, 42 U.S.C. §§ 2781-2831 (1964).

politics. To cost almost \$500 million in fiscal 1966, CAP gives financial support for specific local antipoverty efforts in rural and urban areas. What Haddad calls a "powder keg" is the provision that local programs must be "developed, conducted, and administered with maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."⁴⁷ It could mean a blank check for communities, anything from family planning to cultural enrichment field trips. It could also mean that, from the politician's viewpoint, the poor would be given not only money—as in the past—but also a voice in spending it—which, translated, in politics means power for indigenous leaders of the poor.

Title two departs from the traditional federal welfare programs by placing main responsibility on local communities for programs and by setting up a direct channel for funds from Washington to local community action groups, bypassing, if needed, local government (and political) organizations. In the view of some, CAP could evolve into a mid-twentieth century equivalent for the central government of *The Last Hurrah*, the "beer-bucket and coal-scuttle" local politics of some nineteenth-century city life. Others see CAP as challenging a source of power valuable to big-city administrations for a generation—namely, the power of doling out welfare through existing agencies.⁴⁸

Reasons given for title two by its sponsors were the superiority of local leadership,⁴⁹ concern for the "state's rights" principle, and a desire to "unify" communities through broad local participation. Two "silent" reasons privately discussed were that the bill's drafters simply did not know what programs the war on poverty needed, and—perhaps more important—the act was designed as another layer of the Great Society's civil rights program. Because of growing distrust of established social and political institutions by increasingly vocal and powerful urban poor, particularly Negroes, such urban poor are to be the major beneficiaries, but under direct national administration leadership.

Few informed students can deny the ironic role of Negroes in the United States. European immigrants came here with the peasant's strength of family, full of hope in the land of opportunity, capable of "fading" into suburbs as language barriers fell before a new generation. The European belief that hard work could lead to fortune has been largely confirmed. Many urban Negroes, often of much longer American lineage and so more socially and politically sophisticated, feel trapped. Recognizing need for education and skills, they have been in the past frustrated by lack of opportunity and by unstable family life patterns set up purposefully earlier by the mores of slave ownership. Despite much progress in income that is closing the gaps between whites and Negroes,⁵⁰ the Negro faces the aroused expectations of mass media, on the one hand, and the realities of declining opportunities for the uneducated, on the other, all the while remaining "visible" on account of color.

Many of today's poor lack provision for that education, training, and environment that are needed. Central Harlem and other city school children undergo declines in measured intelligent quotient from third to

sixth or eighth grades.⁵¹ Urban renewal has often pushed urban poor into denser inner-core ghettos.⁵² Health of the poor is less robust; they are sick more and have higher infant mortality⁵³ and death⁵⁴ rates, suggesting preventive health care weaknesses.

Sophisticated leadership of urban poor—particularly civil rights organizations—know and protest such conditions. Equal opportunity is their main theme; relief programs of the past are considered an affront. The concept of economic opportunity has much validity, in line with the argument of this paper. Enhanced skills add to national output and income, to consumer buying power, to social and political stability—in short, to the means of reducing not only economic but also social, intellectual, and cultural poverty. This is why OEO has aroused interest and excitement.

In this context, the war over poverty is real and undeniable. It presses against the welfare and education status quo in cities, and thus also against city halls across the land. The U.S. Conference of Mayors noted last November that both "public and private agencies and interests are being combined and coordinated under community action program guidance"; and in view of this, the report said, "... the almost revolutionary potentialities of this new organizational unit become apparent."⁵⁵

With the stakes so high, competition for CAP leadership is keen. Labor unions publish how-to-do-it pamphlets for their leaders.⁵⁶ Walter Reuther sets up a million-dollar "Citizens Crusade Against Poverty" to help involve labor. Austin Kiplinger writes that Reuther sees unions "as a vital cog in the coming power structure, with a unified voice, louder than any other, and able to run the

show."⁵⁷ Part of the show may well be the powerful poor.

The war over poverty creates troubles for the Johnson administration. On one side, the administration faces the angry big-city mayors, mostly Democrats; on the other, there are the civil rights groups and others whom the "establishment" frustrates. The conflict surfaced last November with a news report alleged to stem from what was said to be an intra-office Bureau of the Budget memorandum. The report claimed the administration plans to de-emphasize CAP in favor of NYC and Project Head Start. The Vice President's "informal" talks to reporters were soon in print with a similar line—hardly a coincidence in such a tightly news-disciplined presidency.⁵⁸ Carl Rowan, Negro columnist, has since reported that to move CAP to the new Department of Housing and Urban Development, Sargent Shriver may have to be replaced.⁵⁹ Such a move, with what some hear as overtones of the Johnson-Robert Kennedy power struggle, would add merit to Haddad's appellation of "savage" politics.

C. What is the basic philosophy of the OEO?

The real longrun weakness of the OEO is lack of a basic philosophy. In the absence of strong intellectual underpinnings or vision of purpose, the sponsors of the Economic Opportunity Act created what Silberman aptly calls "a mixed-up war on poverty."⁶⁰ Defenders of the act and of the OEO as "pragmatic" overlook the wide gulf which separates the pragmatism of confusion from the pragmatism of hypothesis explored through scientific analysis and testing.

Many of the troubles in the war on poverty stem from its clouded vision and activist posture: Weak and distorted factual bases are too often defended instead of probed. Legislative devices such as "coordination" are substituted for strong policy direction to federal antipoverty efforts, vastly overlapping and duplicative. Existing welfare and educational institutions and concepts are naively attacked rather than firmly challenged on logic, quality and results. Indeed, issues which are at base substantive and analytical are exploded into political battles, rather than the desired reverse "implosion" of potential political issues into technical and substantive questions.

A meeting on December 5-8, 1965 of 286 representatives of community action and development programs—the National Association for Community Development—reflected in its resolutions concern over the conceptual shape of OEO administration as follows:

"Judged in the light of its CAP funding actions, the OEO has not recognized the centrality to the community action effort of manpower development and employment programs."

"Attempts to carry out this [OEO coordinating] responsibility have proven especially difficult in the area of manpower development and employment programs in large part

⁴⁷ The Kiplinger Washington Letter, Nov. 26, 1965, p. 1.

⁴⁸ As two experienced newsmen on the Washington scene later pointed out:

"The Vice President and the Budget Director are anything but bureaucratic adventurers who go off on policy tangents. High officials here just can't believe Humphrey and Schultze have crawled out on a limb without a nudge from President Johnson." Evans & Novak, *Inside Report*, The Washington Post, Dec. 1, 1965, p. 17.

⁴⁹ Rowan, *Shriver Likely Poverty War Victim*, Washington Evening Star, Dec. 22, 1965, p. A-15.

⁵⁰ Silberman, *supra* note 48.

⁴⁷ Haddad, *supra* note 36, at 44; § 202(a) (3), 78 Stat. 516, 42 U.S.C. § 2782(a) (3) (1964).

⁴⁸ Silberman, *The Mixed-Up War on Poverty*, Fortune, Aug. 1965, p. 156.

⁴⁹ H.R. REP. NO. 1458, 88th Cong., 2d Sess. 10 (1964).

⁵⁰ WATTENBERG & SCAMMON, *op. cit. supra* note 1, at 130-51.

⁵¹ Clark, *Education of the Minority Poor—The Key to the War on Poverty* (paper prepared for the Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, Chamber of Commerce of the United States).

⁵² See MARTIN ANDERSON, *THE FEDERAL BULLDOZER* ch. 4 (1964).

⁵³ U.S. NATIONAL CENTER FOR HEALTH STATISTICS, DEPT. OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, SERIES 10, NO. 4, DISABILITY DAYS, UNITED STATES: JULY 1961-JUNE 1962, at 9 (1965); U.S. DEPT. OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, WELFARE ADMINISTRATION, DIVISION OF RESEARCH, CONVERGING SOCIAL TRENDS, EMERGING SOCIAL PROBLEMS, Chart 40, at 48 (1964).

⁵⁴ Handler, *Poverty No. 3 Cause of Death Here*, N.Y. Times, Oct. 10, 1964, p. 59, col. 2. The five causes of death included in the study were cardiovascular renal diseases, cancer, diabetes, pneumonia-influenza diseases, and accidents.

⁵⁵ Loftus, *Mayors Chide U.S. on Poverty Drive*, N.Y. Times, Nov. 28, 1965, p. 55. Last November's narrow re-election of Cleveland's Mayor Ralph S. Locher, who was nearly defeated by a Negro opponent, is possibly an example of what the Conference of Mayors was talking about. For months prior to the election, Locher, the OEO, civil rights groups and church organizations had been carrying on a battle over the composition of Cleveland's community action council. Until the election, the mayor had resisted demands that he increase representation of the poor. The groups that wanted more representation of the poor played active roles in the mayoralty election campaign and supported Locher's opponent, who came within 2,000 votes of defeating the incumbent mayor. Pincus, *Politics and Change in Poverty War, Interpretative Report*, The Washington Evening Star, Nov. 12, 1965, p. 2.

⁵⁶ See AFL-CIO, LABOR'S ROLE IN THE WAR ON POVERTY (pamphlet prepared by the AFL-CIO Antipoverty Office, Washington, D.C., 44 pages, undated).

because this central planning and coordinating role is not afforded priority in federal bureaucratic practice."

"... greater recognition than ever should be given ... to the realities of the current and future labor market, occupational demands, and labor force. ... These realities include ... a heavy concentration of hard-core unemployed young men and women without the formal or the actual qualifications for acceptance by employers."

"Almost one-half of those persons who make up the poverty population reside in rural areas and a large segment of the impoverished in urban areas have their origin in rural areas. ... But only about 10 per cent of CAP funds have gone to rural programs."⁶¹

Too much of OEO efforts aim at offering people of good will a cause. John Fischer, editor of *Harper's* magazine, argues that since many of our youth lack substitutes for violence because of the comforts of modern life, we should start projects based on what William James long ago called the "moral equivalent of war." To some extent, Fischer points out, Project Head Start, VISTA, the Peace Corps, and such programs aim in this direction.⁶²

One cannot help a feeling of disquiet, however, with such approaches by central government in questions affecting the lives and hopes of the poor. For one thing, the moral issue insists on turning around—are these programs aimed at doing good to the poor, or at doing good for those doing good to the poor? Next, is the issue of fighting poverty only an issue of doing good? If rich men in India gave all their goods to feed the poor, perhaps moral wealth would be enhanced, but certainly poverty would not be conquered. To those who argue that such programs help both helped and helpers, one can recall the haunting remark of Jane Addams: "One cannot do good to the poor; one can only hope to do good with the poor." Historically the supply of saints has always been scant.

These unhappy questions need facing, above all, because the war on poverty could conceivably only mislead, misinform, and misdirect the hopes of our most inarticulate people. What could be more regrettable an outcome of the war on poverty than to turn the stigma of "deprivation" in a loosely-defined barrage across major groups, areas, and regions? In a recent article "A Federal Study Finds Unrest Among Negroes Rising in Many Cities," the *Wall Street Journal* reports: "Federal officials who have felt the pulse now possess a closely guarded list of 'high tension' cities where it's said the threat of violence is raised by Negro resentment over lack of jobs, inadequate schools and housing, and the attitudes of police and local officeholders."⁶³ Is mounting resentment and frustration, is more disrespect for law and order, either a desired or necessary result of antipoverty efforts? It would not appear so.

Lacking a clear philosophy, the war on poverty has nonetheless created a powerful rhetoric. No one who reads newspapers can escape realizing that the war on poverty has yielded tons of news releases. OEO has had more than one hundred ex-newsmen in its evaluation unit, to check complaints, while its research staff amounted to about forty. The public information staff of the war on poverty includes federal, state, and local manpower, throughout the country.

The danger of powerful public information is that its output can be no better in the long run than its input. Thus, powerful rhetoric amplifies trouble with the war on poverty as much as accomplishment. It also runs the risk of demeaning its clients with the stigma of deprivation, which blotting out solid news of progress against poverty (in facts about income, jobs, and wealth) with the minutiae of OEO grants and administration.

D. Toward a philosophy of overcoming poverty

The National Association for Community Development, earlier quoted, held in one of its resolutions:

"... we feel that the private and public institutions of America must not be led to believe that the usual market mechanisms and general fiscal and monetary policies can be expected to contribute a *direct* or even an *indirect* solution to these [hardcore unemployment] problems. Specific, tailor-made programs of manpower development, job development, and economic development must take up the attention and energies of employers, unions, and government in order to provide solutions and techniques congruent with the realities of the labor market today, and in the future."⁶⁴

It is puzzling to determine who it is that contends that the market plus monetary and fiscal policy—alone—solve hard-core unemployment. It has been the National Chamber view that much unemployment in recent times is structural—that is, the result of job-upgrading not yet matched by skill-upgrading, or of other shifts in employment producing mismatches of jobs and skills.⁶⁵ Further, businessmen have historically supported both public and private education and its expansion, as well as spending perhaps today as much as \$15 billion yearly for training on-the-job.

The National Association for Community Development seems to raise a strawman issue in its premises. Signs of progress in education led *Time* magazine to write of "the education explosion." A few sentences put its essence briefly:

"Sixty-five years ago, when the U.S. population stood at 76 million, a thin 6% of the nation's 17-year-olds graduated from high school, and only 4% of the college-age youths were in college. Today, with the U.S. population grown by nearly 40% [sic], to 195 million, an impressive 71% of the 17-year-olds are getting their high school diplomas, and about 30% of the college-age population is in the classroom."⁶⁶

The market mechanism and general fiscal and monetary policy have never alone solved human development problems in this country. They create conditions of high employment; the educational system, stimulated by a free and enterprising people bent on a better life for their families and children, has done so.

And given our great educational plant, still abuilding, why should we not ask about its quality in serving the poor? Is the issue not falsely drawn which leaps from hard-core joblessness to OEO-type programs, bypassing schools?

In seeking a philosophy of overcoming today's remediable poverty, are not probing questions needed about our concepts and practices in this great educational system? For example, might we not require schools to develop, use, and report on measures of their own productivity? We need a system of testing which would serve as a quality

control for local school boards. Might public schools be subject to more competition, to improve quality for children of the poor? Why should educators not be required to produce results?

Indeed, if we are serious as a society in striving to enter the age of science—wherein results are tested formally and self-consciously—might we not also demand higher standards of accomplishment in government welfare-type programs such as OEO? Most such programs report results in numbers of cases served or in dollars spent, rather than in the achievement of specific purposes. Industry and commerce cannot survive through such primitive reporting methods.

Social innovations at once consistent with our ideals of freedom, enterprise, opportunity—and at the same time fit for the coming age of science—will require unleashing the mind of our age from depression-born manacles still evident in the war on poverty. It is hard to hear America sing tunes of negative income taxes, guaranteed incomes, or songs written by federal bureaus of economic opportunity, in such an age. A clearer theme emerges from phrases such as "the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Ours is the semantics of individual opportunity and know-how—not of individual dependency and deprivation. Those who write the new philosophy of poverty must hear America singing.

PROPOSAL TO AMEND THE COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF 1934

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. BROTZMAN] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, under present law each broadcaster in the United States must apply for renewal of his license every 3 years. Those governmental agencies such as police, forestry, and fire departments who use safety and special radio service licenses must apply for renewal every 5 years.

These procedures are time consuming and costly to both the applicant and the Government. Furthermore, the present regulations governing license renewals are outmoded and unrealistic as applied to today's communication needs.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934, to extend the maximum period for broadcasting licenses from 3 to 5 years. It also will abolish the necessity of renewals for licenses in the safety and special services category which now imposes a useless burden on the Federal Communications Commission and on the licensees. However, the bill will preserve authority in the Commission to grant licenses for a fixed term of years in the safety and special services category, where the public interest would, in the Commission's judgment, so require.

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE: SELF-DETERMINATION DENIED

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. ROBIN] may ex-

⁶¹ NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, EIGHT RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT NACD CONFERENCE (Dec. 5-8, 1965).

⁶² Fischer, *Substitutes for Violence*, *Harper's Magazine*, Jan. 1968, p. 16, at 19, 24.

⁶³ *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 5, 1966, p. 1.

⁶⁴ NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, *op. cit. supra* note 61. (Emphasis added.)

⁶⁵ See CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, UNEMPLOYMENT: THE NATURE OF THE CHALLENGE (1965).

⁶⁶ *Time*, Oct. 15, 1965, p. 60.

tend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, throughout history many national groups have, in one way or another, been denied the free and independent status to which they were entitled. Outstanding among the groups refused the right to shape their own national institutions are the people of the Ukraine.

At one time, from the 9th to the 13th centuries, the Ukraine did exist as an independent entity. Unfortunately, it fell prey to its larger, more powerful neighbors; struggling first with the Poles, then with the Russians. From the mid-17th century on the Ukraine was under the domination of Czarist Russia. Not only were the Ukrainians unable to govern themselves, but Russian policy called for their complete absorption and Russianization. Every attempt was made to obliterate their language and culture.

The Russians, however, were never able to attain these objectives. Somehow the people of the Ukraine managed to retain their identity. Finally, in the late 19th century clandestine independence movements, inspired in part by the writings of the poet Taras Shevchenko whose statute is here in Washington, were begun in both Russia and the portion of Ukrainian territory controlled by Austria-Hungary.

World War I seemed to bring the realization of the hopes of patriotic Ukrainians like Shevchenko. Russia was defeated and in the throes of revolution. On January 22 of 1918 the patriots in the Russian-controlled portion of the Ukraine proclaimed an independent state. A year later the Austro-Hungarian territory joined with them to form a united Ukrainian National Republic.

It is unfortunate that today we cannot truly celebrate the anniversary of that first declaration of Ukrainian independence. Within 3 years of its founding the Ukrainian National Republic had been reconquered by the Red army, despite the complete recognition originally granted by Russia's Communist rulers. Rather than rejoice we must hope that the spirit of independence which caused resistance to Russian dominance before January 22, 1918 still lives among the Ukrainian people. And we must assure this captive people that we have not forgotten them, for our commitment to freedom is unending.

NEED TO REVISE SELECTIVE SERVICE LAW—IX

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTENMEIER] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the President is authorized to provide for the deferment from training and

service in the Armed Forces all categories of persons whose employment in industry, agriculture, or other occupations or employment, or whose activity in study, research, or medical, dental, veterinary, optometric, osteopathic, scientific, pharmaceutical, chiropractic, chiropodial, or other endeavors is found to be necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest. Furthermore, Congress has declared that adequate provision for national security requires maximum effort in the field of scientific research and development, and the fullest possible utilization of the Nation's technological, scientific, and other critical manpower resources.

Those specialties necessary for the maintenance of the national health are well defined. Certain standards are followed when examining a request for an agricultural deferment. But, what of the other fields? In the absence of well defined skills or scientific endeavors that are essential to the national interest, who determines the categories of people who are to be deferred in these areas? It is, of course, the local boards. In an exchange between the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. PIKE] and General Hershey before the House Armed Services Committee last June, the general testified that "the local board is the man who makes the decision."

How do the local boards determine what occupations are in the national interests? There are the guidelines in the law itself, that I referred to previously. The U.S. Department of Commerce "List of Currently Essential Activities" and the U.S. Department of Labor "Currently Critical Occupations" are used by the Selective Service System for information when considering requests for occupational deferments of individual registrants and as a guide in selecting men with critical civilian occupations for the special enlistment program in the Ready Reserve. These lists are heavily weighted in favor of the scientific and technical fields. For example, in the teaching field, the following definitions are given:

Teacher, college—Special Definition: Instructs students in college-level institutions in the scientific and technical subjects required as preparation for critical occupations or in any modern foreign language except French, German, Italian, or Spanish.

Teacher, high school (Mathematics, Physical and Biological Sciences, and Modern Foreign Languages Except French, German, Italian, or Spanish)—Special Definition: Instructs students in high school (grades 9-12) in one or more subjects in mathematics, the physical and biological sciences, or any modern foreign language except French, German, Italian, or Spanish.

Listed as a critical occupation, along with that of an astronomer, chemist, electronics mechanic, mathematician, physicist and tool and die maker, is that of a scientific linguist, the special definition of which is as follows:

Linguistician; linguistic scientist; structural linguist. Studies components, structure, and relationships within a language to provide better understanding of its social functioning; Prepares description of sounds, forms, and vocabulary of a language. Contributes to the development of linguistic theory. Applies linguistic theory to at least

one of the following: Development of improved methods in translation, either computerized or not; the teaching of a language to other than native speakers of it; preparation of language-teaching materials, dictionaries, and handbooks; reducing previously unwritten languages to standardized written forms; preparation of literacy materials; preparation of tests for language-learning aptitudes and language proficiency; consultation with government agencies to the benefit of their language programs, preparation of descriptions of two languages in comparison with each other for the purpose of improving teaching or translating between them. Does not perform routine translations (translator) or teaching (faculty members, college or university (education); teacher, secondary school (education)).

Presumably there are other guidelines and advisory opinions that the national selective service headquarters issues to the local boards. Whatever they may be, however, the Director of the Selective Service feels that "we send them too much in the way of guidelines." Essentially, the local boards have complete autonomy in the determination of what is in the national interest.

General Hershey emphatically rejects any suggestion for national standards or for a central control of the classification and deferment system. He has said:

No system of compulsory service could long endure without the support of the people. The Selective Service System is, therefore, founded upon the grass-roots principle, in which boards made up of citizens in each community determine when registrants should be made available for military service.

Despite General Hershey's unshakable belief in the grassroots principle, what has happened is that the local boards, even those within reasonably close proximity of one another and having essentially the same set of circumstances, operating autonomously, have come up frequently with significantly different interpretations or conclusions with respect to the deferment policy. Considering the fact that there are over 4,000 local boards, who, at time, have handled about 2 million classifications during a month, there is bound to be some variance among the interpretations. The disturbing factor, however, is that there is not some, but a great deal of difference existing in regard to the opinions issued by the local boards.

National standards for classifications and deferments must be established. Some order must be introduced into this system. In view of the excessive amount of inequities which arise from varying interpretations of the present law, we can no longer afford to "have more confidence" and "put up with the mistakes of the local board." The present law must be revised.

HAZARDOUS SUBSTANCES LABELING

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, in the past few years, the deaths of several young people have been attributed to the inhalation of toxic vapors from model airplane cement. The death of a 12-year-old boy in Maine was caused by exposure to such vapor while building plastic models. A 15-year-old youth in Marysville, Mich., died under circumstances which suggest the possibility of glue vapor as a causative factor. Other deaths after exposure to glue vapor have been reported in several States.

To other youngsters glue inhalation has not been fatal but has reportedly caused permanent damage to the brain. The Detroit Department of Health states that after long usage or a single heavy exposure, damage could occur in the blood vessels of the brain, kidneys, and liver.

Tests conducted in Salt Lake City indicate an abnormal number of white blood cells in the urinary sediment of boys who had inhaled glue vapors. Other tests in Sweden indicate possible damage to bone marrow from the same cause.

All that the present regulations for airplane cement require, under the Federal Hazardous Substances Labeling Act, are the words "Vapor Harmful," and some fine print about adequate ventilation. More needs to be done to stress the danger involved and the preventative measures which must be taken. The warning must be in bold type and in clear, simple language. The Food and Drug Administration is already empowered to specify the precautionary words, which ought to be intelligible to the average juvenile user of these products.

Even if the language is simple and clear, it may escape notice unless the warning is in large, bold type. Accordingly, I am introducing an amendment to the Federal Hazardous Substances Labeling Act requiring that the warning be printed in type which is at least as large as the largest type used anywhere on the label.

Protecting the lives and safety of our children is at least as important as advertising the product and its manufacturer.

We can give little comfort to the mothers of the young people who have died from glue vapor inhalation, but we can take steps to see that other mothers do not suffer similar losses as a result of our failure to act.

Mr. Speaker, I submit my amendment to the Federal Hazardous Substances Labeling Act and urge our colleagues to join in supporting it. I place the text of my bill, H.R. 3791, at this point in the RECORD:

H.R. 3791

A bill to amend the Federal Hazardous Substances Labeling Act to specify the minimum size of type which must be used to print certain information on the labels of packages of hazardous substances

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 2(p)(2) of the Federal Hazardous Substances Labeling Act (15 U.S.C. 1261(p)(2)) is amended by inserting immediately before the period at the end thereof the following: "and on which any statement required by clause (E) or (F) of subparagraph (1) is

printed in type which is at least as large as the largest type used anywhere on such label".

SEC. 2. The amendment made by the first section of this Act shall apply only to packages of hazardous substances which are labeled after thirty days after the date of enactment of this Act.

STATISTICS ILLUSTRATE NEED FOR CONSTRUCTION SAFETY ACT

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. O'HARA] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, statistics released by the Michigan Construction Safety Commission on the increase in the number of accidental deaths in the State's construction industry during 1966 over the total in the previous 12 months offer a timely illustration of the vital need for Federal legislation to help correct this situation.

In citing these figures, it is not my intention to single out Michigan's record as deserving more criticism than the record of other States. Michigan's record is an example of what is occurring across the country. In fact, except for mining, the construction industry has the highest frequency and severity rates of injuries of any major industry in the Nation. And the rates, as the Michigan figures show, continue to climb.

H.R. 2567, my bill to establish safety and health regulations for federally sponsored construction projects in excess of \$20,000 would represent a big step toward general improvement in the industry as a whole because Federal projects represent a relatively large segment of the total building and construction trade activity in the country today.

Because of the serious national problem the figures illustrate, I include as part of my remarks the lead story from the January 13, 1967, issue of the Building Tradesman, official publication of the Detroit Building Trades Council and the Michigan Building and Construction Trades Council, which reports the statistics released by the Michigan Construction Safety Commission.

The story follows:

STATE CONSTRUCTION DEATH TOLL UP BY NINE IN 1966—48 FATALITIES ARE RECORDED IN 12 MONTHS—HARVIE SAYS ENLARGED STAFF WILL HELP IN 1967

LANSING.—Accidental deaths in Michigan's huge construction industry rose by nine during 1966 over the previous 12 months, according to statistics released today by the State Construction Safety Commission. In all, there were 48 deaths over the 12-month period as opposed to 39 in 1965.

Despite the increased toll, fatalities were down from 1964 when 57 workmen were killed accidentally on job sites.

Deaths due to falls were reduced in 1966 to 15 from a total of 21 in 1965, but more fatalities (10) were recorded from excavation cave-ins in 1966 than in 1965 when there were only five.

Allan W. Harvie, commission director, attributed the reduction in deaths due to falls to a statewide drive against this type of accident.

"We were happy with the reduction in the number of deaths from falls, but are equally disappointed at the over-all toll and the increase in the number of fatalities due to cave-ins," he said.

"It is my belief that every construction death that occurred in 1966 might have been prevented with a few more precautions by those responsible.

"In any event, the commission hopes to reduce the number of over-all accidents in 1967. In September of last year, our staff of inspectors was doubled to a total of 14 and territories to be covered were reduced.

"Certainly, we expect to make a more favorable safety impact in the months ahead."

Harvie blamed the increase in excavation cave-ins on inexperienced contractors, who had been in the field only one or two years.

Commission figures revealed that there were 3,900 compensable injuries (seven or more days of lost time) in the construction industry in 1966. Of these, 1,100 were due to falls, 820 were caused by employees being struck by falling or moving objects and 640 were blamed on improper lifting.

Of the fatalities, 15 were caused by falls, 10 by cave-ins, eight workers were crushed to death, seven were killed because of contact with overhead power lines, there were three other electrocutions, and two workers died when struck by falling objects. Other types of fatal mishaps were listed at three.

Of the victims, nine were self-employed, 15 were laborers, six were carpenters, four were painters and five were equipment operators.

HOME RULE

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. REUSS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to see in the President's message on the District budget a reaffirmation of his belief that the District should have home rule. I am particularly delighted with his statement because there has been a campaign of considerable proportions during the last few months to persuade people that the home rule issue died, for all practical purposes, in the last Congress.

I agree with the President that the last Congress should have passed a home rule bill. But I deny emphatically that just because the 89th Congress failed, the 90th Congress cannot succeed. It can succeed. And with the support of the President, it will.

The membership should not overlook the fact that both Houses in the last Congress passed home rule bills. They were far apart in concept—a gap that was never bridged—but they were the same in declaring it to be the purpose and intent of Congress to grant powers of self-government to District citizens.

Mr. Speaker, the home rule issue will not go away. The failure to remove District citizens from second-class status is a continuing stain on our democratic system. We would do well to get on with the job of removing that stain, once and for all. I believe it will be an achievement of the 90th Congress, and I will do all that I can to advance us toward that goal.

A U.S. ACADEMY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. WHITE] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation for the consideration of the 90th Congress, to establish the U.S. Academy of Foreign Affairs.

The intent of this legislation is to promote peace, freedom and greater understanding throughout the world. It will provide more adequate facilities for the training and education of professional personnel who conduct U.S. foreign policy, stimulate research in foreign affairs, and provide leadership in bringing colleges and universities into a more effective relationship with the agencies of the U.S. Government in the field of foreign affairs.

The legislation sets up a college and a graduate school, awarding bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees. Citizens of the United States shall be admitted to the college who are between 20 and 25 years of age, have had 2 years of college or 2 years in the Peace Corps abroad, and admission shall be on the basis of competitive examinations. Students at the college shall receive pay and allowances as determined by the Board of Regents. Admission of students shall give due consideration to the objective of obtaining broad geographical representation. Foreign students, as well, shall be admitted to the graduate school, if such admission is deemed by the President to be in the national interest.

Persons admitted to the Academy shall sign an agreement to accept employment with the U.S. Government for not less than 2 years, in departments or agencies dealing with foreign affairs.

Like the service academies, the Academy of Foreign Affairs shall have a Board of Regents chaired by the Secretary of State, determining policy and providing guidance to the Academy; a Board of Visitors, composed of Members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, making at least annual visits and reports on the Academy to the President; and a Chancellor of the Academy appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The Foreign Service Institute, presently training Foreign Service officers for the Department of State, shall be incorporated into the Academy.

The graduate school shall provide advanced professional instruction geared to the needs of foreign affairs officers, be an institution where foreign affairs officers can meet to explore common and special interests and problems, conduct research activities, provide leadership and assistance in training of staffs of foreign affairs agencies, and coordinate research with other educational institutions, private businesses, organizations, and individuals.

This legislation will continue to per-

mit the Secretary of State to continue recruiting and training of personnel for the Department of State, other than in the Academy of Foreign Affairs.

As the conduct of foreign affairs becomes more complex, and as more agencies of the U.S. Government are necessarily becoming involved in the conduct of our foreign policy, the need for additional, competent foreign policy specialists in Government grows acute. The Academy of Foreign Affairs will meet this growing need, and I ask early consideration of the proposal by the Congress.

FIRE AT HAMLETT HALL

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. BLANTON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLANTON. Mr. Speaker, on November 11, 1966, in early morning, a disastrous fire destroyed Hamlett Hall, displacing 117 male students at Lane College, Jackson, Tenn.

Stafford Thompson, a senior and student assistant basketball coach from Jacksonville, Fla., discovered the blaze. Thompson, returning to his dormitory reported he saw the blaze through an attic window at 3:50 a.m. He alerted George Stanton, Jr., security guard, who helped spread the alarm to freshmen sleeping in the stricken building.

Thompson said:

Some of them were going around in a daze and we had to help them get in their clothing.

Jackson fire chief had great praise for Stanton, a veteran employee of the college. He gave credit for saving the boys' lives to him. Stanton said:

I had just made my last round about 3:30 when Stafford came in and said, "Hamlett Hall is on fire." I immediately went to the second floor of the building and started beating and kicking down doors. The roof caved in while I was on the second floor. After all of the boys had gotten out of the building, we had trouble trying to keep them out.

As a result of the heroic manner in which these two gentlemen worked, the building was evacuated with injuries to only one student. All others were safely led from the building due to the intelligence and courage of Stanton and Thompson.

I would like to join with all citizens of Jackson in giving commendation to these two men for the outstanding courage shown while preventing loss of human life.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA BUDGET

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. JACOBS] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, the budget for the District, which the President forwarded today, is a most welcome recognition of the long-delayed need to improve educational opportunities for District children. I am particularly pleased to see the President stressing in his message the need to improve the quality of education—particularly the educational opportunities of our poor and our deprived.

It is high time, too, that we meet head on, as the budget does, the need to expand and modernize the educational facilities of the District. While the dollars required to provide the District with quality education are large, dollars so spent are the best investment a modern and enlightened society can make.

The District in the past few years has been doing better in many ways. We have improved its schools, its recreational facilities, its medical services, its welfare programs, to name just a few. This budget will continue that progress. It will not meet all the needs, but it is a very significant step forward. It deserves favorable consideration.

WATER POLLUTION

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. WOLFF] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to introduce a bill, which, when enacted, will be one more tool in our arsenal of weapons to fight the contamination and pollution menacing our waterways.

The bill requires certain vessels operating on the navigable waters of the United States to use a chemical head that enables vessels to conform to certain standards of waste disposal.

Such a requirement, Mr. Speaker, is imperative, since boatowners and users have no standardization of chemical heads with which to conform. The chemical head acceptable at one port of embarkation might not be acceptable at the proposed port of debarkation, making impossible the free use of our waterways. Raw sewage is today being dumped into our waters, contaminating them and menacing the public health and making unusable many marinas and beaches.

I urge the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries to hold hearings and the Congress to act so that we can begin to stem the waste pouring into our rivers and streams each day.

WATER POLLUTION

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. HANLEY] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. HANLEY. Mr. Speaker, last year Congress enacted the landmark Clean Rivers Restoration Act. This legislation greatly strengthened already existing tools which our communities use to control and abate water pollution. It also added new authorities to permit the Secretary of the Interior to contribute to local efforts designed to conquer a number of the special problems associated with water pollution. Where all of these tools are used together in a comprehensive program, we have every reason to believe that certain types of waterways will be effectively cleaned up.

There are other types of waterways, however, where even the very best use of these tools will not produce an appreciable impact on water quality. I refer to the many lakes throughout this country, large and small, locked into heavily populated areas and remotely located, whose water quality will not be sufficiently improved because of the application of sound waste water control and abatement programs. For a variety of reasons, these lakes cannot be considered as restored simply because the waters which flow into them are much cleaner than before. Some of the lakes are extremely degraded, and their waters are slow moving or even stagnant, allowing little or no natural purification.

In my judgment, we ought to give special attention to the problems of water pollution in our lakes. Already the Federal Government is giving special attention to industrial and municipal waste, and to the problems of pollution which are caused by the runoff from combined storm and sanitary sewers. Many of our lakes will continue to receive the effluent from waste treatment plants, and I am concerned that this highly cleansed effluent will not suffice to achieve in our lakes the purposes we are seeking.

I am introducing legislation today to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to make grants to communities which can produce projects designed to rehabilitate America's lakes. These projects must go beyond normal waste water control and abatement. A basic assumption is that the community is already doing all that it can to prevent future pollution of the lake. The Federal Government ought to support local efforts to rectify the damage which is already done. In many cases, the condition of the receiving body will demand just as much attention as the waters which flow into it. We are seeking to improve the water quality of the receiving body in order that the body can be put to greater use. There are lakes that are so extremely degraded that their only present use can be a receptacle for municipal and industrial waste. In order to upgrade and improve the lakes, communities are attempting to severely control and eventually abate pollution, but in many cases it is unlikely that these efforts will have much of an impact on the lakes. Improved water quality, in combination with other factors, is the key to multipurpose usage. Industries and municipalities demand clean water in great abundance. Americans are looking in increasing numbers to water for recreation. Good sense and good man-

agement suggest strongly that water resources be managed in such a way that they are capable of serving a number of purposes.

For many of our lakes, it is going to be necessary to take bold and imaginative measures in order to restore them to multipurpose use. The Federal Government ought to participate in the development and application of projects which will provide actual rehabilitation of our lakes.

"MR. MARINE CORPS"

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from California [Mr. Moss] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, on January 12, 1967, death took "Mr. Marine Corps" from our Nation. "Outwardly hard-boiled, inwardly soft-hearted," wrote one reporter. The general himself once said, "My God, how I suffer over the loss of my boys."

The late General Holland "Howlin' Mad" Smith was a rough, relentless, colorful leader. He was also a compassionate, concerned, warm human being.

History will duly record his illustrious 40-year career which was culminated by his advancement to full general—the third marine in history so honored. History will not forget his landing at Iwo Jima with tears flowing down his cheeks and his grievous words, "My God, what's happening to my Marines."

Gen. Holland McTyeire Smith—militant leader—sensitive human being.

I include, under unanimous consent, the text of the Washington Daily News editorial, "Howlin' Mad Smith," in the Record at this point:

[From the Washington Daily News, Jan. 13, 1967]

HOWLIN' MAD SMITH

Scarcely any event could recall more dramatically the desperate days in the Pacific in World War II than the death yesterday of Gen. Holland McTyeire Smith who came to be known as "Mr. Marine Corps."

Makin, Tarawa, Kwajalein, Saipan, Iwo Jima, Guadalcanal, Eniwetok, Tinian—all headline names in the early 1940s, far-off places of bloody battles as American forces pushed back the Japanese island by island. Howlin' Mad Smith was there.

Gen. Smith will forever be an illustrious name to the Marine Corps, an unforgotten name in military history. He was tough, rugged and aggressive. Or, as a reporter who followed him in the Pacific wrote: "Outwardly hard-boiled inwardly soft-hearted."

He grieved over the horrendous losses the Marines suffered in the Pacific campaign; but there was no choice. Death is an inevitable part of war. Gen. Smith trained his men hard and made them tough and relentless; the soundest way to protect their lives.

Howlin' Mad not only was a colorful and militant leader. He was a strategist and tactician. He has been called the "father" of amphibious warfare; even before the United States was attacked at Pearl Harbor, Gen. Smith was training Marines for landing assaults and persuading shipbuilders to develop new landing craft.

He abandoned an early law career to join the Marines and went all the way in his 40-

years service, from lieutenant to full general, the third Marine to achieve that rank. His decision in 1905 to take down his shingle for a military life was momentous to him, but much more so—as fate was to have it—for the welfare of the Marine Corps and the whole nation.

ADDITIONAL MILEAGE MUST BE ADDED TO INTERSTATE SYSTEM

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill which provides for the extension of two highway segments in the State of Florida—I-75 and I-95—to be designated as parts of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways.

I am again urging the Governor of Florida and the State road board to give top priority to these two segments in their recommendations to the Federal Bureau of Public Roads which are currently being prepared for the next phase of the Interstate System.

While I wholeheartedly oppose attempts to make piecemeal additions to the Interstate Highway System, I am introducing this bill in order to make the legislative record clear on the absolute necessity for the inclusion of these two segments in any expansion of our Interstate Highway System, although the State road department did not include them in its priority requests for the first phase of the Interstate System.

Congress has recognized that the immense problem of road construction cannot be effectively coped with financially on the local or State level; that the magnitude of need and the corresponding cost requirement make Federal participation mandatory.

We have already created under the first congressional authorization a vast Interstate Highway System consisting of 41,000 miles of roads throughout the Nation. Every mile of these highways has already been allocated and the system is nearing completion. However, it has long been anticipated that substantial additions would be necessary in order to keep up with the rapid growth and increasing transience of our population. It was for this reason that I cosponsored legislation during the 88th Congress instructing the Department of Commerce to conduct an additional 10-year study of the country's highway needs. While the study is not scheduled for completion until 1972, planning is now going on in every State in order to insure a continuous program of road construction and one that will encompass those areas where the need is most urgent.

It is obvious that Congress should not consider piecemeal additions to the Interstate System. Piecemeal additions could only produce a haphazard conglomeration of concrete that would relate itself only to local needs and not in any way service the original and con-

tinuing congressional intent to construct a nationwide network of technically approved, interconnecting serviceable highways.

I have introduced this bill to support the requests of the county commissioners of the two counties within my congressional district—Dade and Monroe—made to the road board of Florida. Furthermore, I wish to strongly emphasize to the State road board and to the Federal Bureau of Public Roads that these two extensions should be requested as top priority projects by the State road board and should be approved by the Federal Bureau as part of the Interstate System.

The first of these segments would provide for the continuation of Interstate 75 from Tampa, on Florida's west coast, to Miami, with an extension terminating in Homestead, which is the hub of a rapidly growing metropolitan area with extensive agricultural and industrial interests southwest of Miami. I, along with my colleagues in the Florida congressional delegation, have been stating the need for this vital "missing link" in our road system for the past decade.

At the present time, I-75 ends in Tampa and for a distance of approximately 250 miles between that city and Miami, motorists are forced to travel U.S. 41. This road, which joins Florida's two largest metropolitan areas, and which is one of the most heavily used highways in the Nation, is an antiquated, narrow, two-lane highway with many bridge abutments, narrow shoulders, deep canals at the sides, and rimmed by marshlands. This highway has long been known for its dangerous traffic conditions and the safety problems involved on U.S. 41 have been recognized by the Miami Herald, the Miami News, the Sarasota Journal, and the American Automobile Association's Florida Motorist and Florida Explorer—all of whom have repeatedly expressed concern.

Furthermore, the Dade County Redlands agricultural area which supplies a large part of the Nation's vegetable and fruit market is dependent on adequate highways to transport fresh produce to the rest of the country. Few people realize the extent of the produce industry in south Florida and the Nation's dependence on it. Construction of I-75 would accelerate and insure a steady flow of fruits and vegetables from the Redlands area to all points of the South, North and Midwestern States.

This highway would also serve an important defense purpose by providing a vital internal line of transport from Homestead Air Force Base—the site of one of our major SAC bases—inland.

The second segment of this bill would provide for the extension of I-95 from Miami to Key West as part of the Federal Interstate System. Once again, I cannot emphasize strongly enough the importance of this major access road.

From a defense standpoint alone, this highway should receive immediate priority. As was clearly demonstrated during the Cuban missile crisis, this road must be made adequate to facilitate the military and defense industry traffic vital to our national security in the Florida

Keys. The highway would also serve as a valuable connector between the naval air station and other Navy facilities at Key West and Homestead Air Force Base.

The shrimp and fishing industries also have a pressing need for the additional mileage which would be provided by the extension of I-95 southward to Key West.

In addition, the Keys serve as a choice vacation spot to thousands of American citizens who drive over the narrow, two-lane overseas highway every year. These people—both residents and visitors—deserve more adequate road facilities. From the safety standpoint alone, a four lane highway, constructed according to federally approved standards, is essential.

As I have noted before, and in past years, the two segments of highway proposed in this bill—I-75 and I-95—are vital extensions of the already existing Interstate Highway System. I shall continue to urge that they be given top priority by the State road board for inclusion in any Federal program—either present or future.

In summation, the Congress has created a 41,000 mile Interstate Highway System; every mile of this System has already been allocated; recognizing the fact that additional mileage will be necessary, the Congress has ordered a study to determine these needs. The individual States have been requested to submit priority recommendations outlining their future interstate highway requirements. It is now up to the Governor of Florida and the State road board to give these two highway segments—I-75 and I-95—top priority in the recommendations they are currently preparing for the Federal Bureau of Public Roads. I encourage such recommendations by the Governor and the State road board and assure my continued support as is evidenced by my introduction of this bill.

HON. HERBERT A. KOEHLER, SR.

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROSENTHAL] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, it is with much sorrow that I report to my colleagues the death of the Honorable Herbert A. Koehler, Sr., a longtime resident of Jackson Heights, Long Island, N.Y.

Bert Koehler had been active in Queens politics for almost 70 years. He cast his first vote in 1897, and had risen to the Democratic leadership of the Jackson Heights-Elmhurst area after many hectic election fights. Through the years the name of "Bert Koehler" was synonymous with the Democratic Party in Queens. He was its strength and backbone, and under his guidance the Democratic Party was able to elect another borough president in 1940, after an absence from that position for a period of many years.

He was appointed to the post of borough secretary under the borough president, James A. Burke, and was later named commissioner of licenses for the city of New York under the then Mayor William O'Dwyer. He served with great distinction in this post for approximately 8 years. He was elected Democratic county leader in 1958, after having served as acting county leader for a period of 6 months.

His entire life was devoted to the community and to the Democratic Party, and especially to helping many outstanding young Democrats gain an opportunity to serve the party and the community.

He was held in high esteem by all who were privileged to know him, and he will be sorely missed, not only by me, but by the many who looked on him as a true and tested friend.

The members of his family have my deepest sympathies.

FUNDS FOR LATERAL SEWERS

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mr. DOW] may extend his remarks at this point in the Record and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. DOW. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to section 708(a) of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 that would add critically needed funds to our basic water and lateral sewer facilities program. I propose to revise the \$200 million authorization to read \$500 million. The number of the bill is H.R. 3645.

The need for increased funds for this part of our program is recognized in the budget of the U.S. Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968. Yet the increase, estimated at \$65 million over the 1967 estimate—and congressional authorization—of \$100 million is not enough. I have it on good authority that there are so many applications for Federal assistance that to meet these confirmed water and sewer needs of our communities across the Nation, present appropriations would have to be multiplied 26 times. The proposed increase from \$200 million to \$500 million is modest, compared to the need.

However, there is no magic in the figure of \$500 million. The amount is offered as a base figure from which this matter may be discussed. This, I am sure, the many Congressmen interested in this authorization are willing to do.

Mr. Speaker, it is a strange logic that puts some of our water and sewer programs such as this subject program for water systems and lateral sewers under the one department, while other sewer programs fall to other departments. Sewer treatment plants and sewer mains are funded through the Department of the Interior. Yet these and the lateral sewers funded through the Department of Housing and Urban Development depend inextricably upon each other. Logic calls for a merger of these activities. Certainly some of us will address

ourselves to the task. In addition, the Department of Agriculture aids water and sewer systems in rural areas. While this is supportable as a distinct agricultural activity, perhaps this, too, wants to be viewed in the overall perspective of our entire effort to assure sanitary water for the communities of this Nation and to eliminate pollution from our waterways.

In addition, I offer an amendment to section 702 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. This amendment supplements the proposed increase in funds for basic water and sewer facilities. It is a further mechanism borne of urgency to solve the critical lack of funds for sewer facilities needed in many communities. The number of my bill for this second amendment is H.R. 3584.

At present, a community may be able to commence part of a lateral sewer or water system with local or State funds. However, no Federal grant-in-aid will be forthcoming if a sewer facilities system is commenced before approval from the Federal Government for Federal funding.

My amendment makes possible local or State initiative in speeding construction of the lateral sewer or water system in those communities where critical conditions are faced. My provision permits a community to start construction without jeopardizing chances of obtaining Federal assistance. A community would be eligible for Federal assistance when such assistance becomes available in the future, providing the system under active preparation receives prior approval of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. My amendment authorizes such prior approval. No later grant would be made that exceeds the amount which would otherwise be made under the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

I urge that we adopt this provision, which will not authorize greater Federal outlay, but will fill a critical gap in our national water pollution control program.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. ERLBORN, for 15 minutes, January 26; and to revise and extend his remarks; and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. YOUNGER (at the request of Mr. HALL), for 60 minutes, on February 1 and for 60 minutes, on February 2; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. ASHBROOK (at the request of Mr. HALL), for 60 minutes, today; to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

Mr. KUPFERMAN (at the request of Mr. HALL), for 30 minutes, on Thursday, January 26; and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL

RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. FINO.

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania.

Mr. PUCINSKI.

Mr. ULLMAN.

(The following Member (at the request of Mr. HALL) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. HARSHA.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. EILBERG) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. DINGELL.

Mr. VANIK.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 56 minutes p.m.), the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, January 26, 1967, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

253. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, transmitting the text of ILO Recommendation No. 123 concerning the employment of women with family responsibilities (H. Doc. No. 45); to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

254. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title III of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, as amended, to require advance reports to committees of Congress before making certain loans in excess of \$250,000; to the Committee on Agriculture.

255. A letter from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended; to the Committee on Agriculture.

256. A letter from the Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting a report on title I, Public Law 480, agreements signed during December 1966, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 85-128; to the Committee on Agriculture.

257. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the extension of certain naval vessel loans now in existence, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

258. A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), transmitting a report of the location, nature, and estimated cost of two nonarmory projects proposed to be undertaken for the Army National Guard, pursuant to the provisions of 10 U.S.C. 2233a(1), and to the authority delegated by the Secretary of Defense; to the Committee on Armed Services.

259. A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize certain construction in support of military activities in southeast Asia; to the Committee on Armed Services.

260. A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1968 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

261. A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

262. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a report of the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps flight instruction program for fiscal year 1966, pursuant to the provisions of section 2110(b) of title 10, United States Code; to the Committee on Armed Services.

263. A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for an Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

264. A letter from the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, Department of State, transmitting a petition dated November 3, 1966, signed by U.S. citizens residing in Havana at the time, reviewing their difficulties in trying to return to the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

265. A letter from the Secretary, Export-Import Bank of Washington, transmitting a report of the amount of Export-Import Bank insurance and guarantees issued in connection with United States exports to Yugoslavia for the month of December 1966, pursuant to the provisions of title III of the Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriation Act of 1967, and to the Presidential determination of February 4, 1964; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

266. A letter from the General Manager, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting a report of the disposal of foreign excess property during fiscal year 1966, pursuant to the provisions of section 404, 63 Stat. 398; 40 U.S.C. 514; to the Committee on Government Operations.

267. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of potential benefits from quarterly collections of Federal unemployment taxes, Department of Labor and Department of the Treasury; to the Committee on Government Operations.

268. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report of review of methods used to provide telephone service to military family housing occupants, Department of Defense; to the Committee on Government Operations.

269. A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Small Reclamation Projects Act of 1956, as amended; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

270. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a report of the activities carried on by the Geological Survey, during the period July 1 to December 31, 1966, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 87-626; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

271. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 5941 of title 5, United States Code, to provide payment of nonforeign differentials to certain U.S. citizen wage board employees serving in nonforeign areas outside the continental United States and Hawaii; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

272. A letter from the Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Science and Astronautics.

273. A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed

legislation to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

274. A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois:

H.R. 3739. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow an incentive tax credit for a part of the cost of constructing or otherwise providing facilities for the control of water or air pollutions, and to permit the amortization of such cost within a period of from 1 to 5 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 3740. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BELL:

H.R. 3741. A bill for the education and training of the handicapped; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BROTZMAN:

H.R. 3742. A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 to abolish the renewal requirement for licenses in the safety and special radio services, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania:

H.R. 3743. A bill to provide for the addition of certain property in Philadelphia, Pa., to Independence National Historical Park; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. CLEVELAND:

H.R. 3744. A bill to establish a national cemetery in New England; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 3745. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow teachers to deduct from gross income the expenses incurred in pursuing courses for academic credit and degrees at institutions of higher education and including certain travel; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 3746. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to eliminate the reduction in disability insurance benefits which is presently required in the case of an individual receiving workmen's compensation benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CURTIS:

H.R. 3747. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that certain insurance agents shall be treated as outside salesmen for purposes of computing adjusted gross income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3748. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, by equalizing taxation with a special exemption for farm marketing and purchasing agencies; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3749. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as amended, with respect to the taxation of banks, savings and loan associations, and other institutions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3750. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the proceeds of life insurance contracts transferred for a valuable consideration to certain persons shall not be subject to income taxation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 3751. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to the

treatment of certain redemptions of preferred stock; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DERWINSKI:

H.R. 3752. A bill to provide that the United States shall make no payments or contributions to the United Nations for furnishing assistance to Communist countries; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 3753. A bill to consolidate water quality management and pollution control authorities and functions in the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. DULSKI:

H.R. 3754. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to increase the income limitations applicable with respect to the payment of pensions to veterans of World War I, World War II, and the Korean conflict, and their widows; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.R. 3755. A bill to provide that the highway running from Tampa, Fla., through Bradenton, Fla., Punta Gorda, Fla., Fort Myers, Fla., Naples, Fla., to Miami, Fla., with an extension to Homestead, Fla.; and that the highway running from Miami, Fla., to Key West, Fla., shall be a part of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FINO:

H.R. 3756. A bill to incorporate the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3757. A bill to amend the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act to require corroboration of unsupported statements and evidence of eligibility for aid or assistance thereunder which may be provided by applicants for such aid or assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FLOOD:

H.R. 3758. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. GERALD R. FORD:

H.R. 3759. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase the amount of outside income which a widow with minor children may earn without suffering deductions from the benefits to which she is entitled thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GARMATZ:

H.R. 3760. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 3761. A bill to amend the Clean Air Act to provide for more effective prevention, control, and abatement of air pollution through the establishment of air regions and standards applicable thereto; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 3762. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3763. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. HANLEY:

H.R. 3764. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to authorize certain grants for rehabilitation of the lakes of the United States; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HARVEY:

H.R. 3765. A bill for the establishment of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government; to the Committee on Government Operations.

H.R. 3766. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to make widows

of servicemen who die on active duty in the Armed Forces eligible for educational assistance under that title; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3767. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code so as to provide that monthly social security benefit payments shall not be included as income for the purpose of determining eligibility for a pension under title 38; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. HOLLAND:

H.R. 3768. A bill to prohibit age discrimination in employment, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 3769. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to eliminate the reduction in disability insurance benefits which is presently required in the case of an individual receiving workmen's compensation benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

H.R. 3770. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. KARSTEN:

H.R. 3771. A bill to permit officers and employees of the Federal Government to elect coverage under the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance system; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KORNNEGAY:

H.R. 3772. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to increase the statutory rates for anatomical loss or loss of use and for arrested tuberculosis; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3773. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code, to provide that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs may furnish a therapeutic or rehabilitative device, as well as other medical equipment and supplies without first establishing eligibility to receive an invalid lift; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KUPFFERMAN:

H.R. 3774. A bill to reduce thefts of motor vehicles by prohibiting the exportation of unidentified motor vehicles, and by prohibiting the unauthorized possession and transmission in interstate commerce of motor vehicle master keys; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. KYROS:

H.R. 3775. A bill to authorize the conveyance of all right, title, and interest of the United States reserved or retained in certain lands heretofore conveyed to the State of Maine; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 3776. A bill to extend to volunteer fire companies the rates of postage on second-class and third-class bulk mailings applicable to certain nonprofit organizations; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3777. A bill to provide additional readjustment assistance to veterans who served in the Armed Forces during the Vietnam era, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3778. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, so as to require the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to give 6 months' advance public notice of the planned closing or relocation of a veterans' facility, and to provide for at least one veterans' service center in each State, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. LEGGETT:

H.R. 3779. A bill to establish certain policies with respect to certain use permits for national forest lands; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 3780. A bill to establish and maintain orderly marketing conditions for processing pears in the interest of producers and consumers, and an orderly flow of the supply thereof to market throughout its normal marketing season to avoid unreasonable

fluctuations in supplies and prices; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H.R. 3781. A bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to authorize the Secretary of Defense to conduct a special educational training and physical rehabilitation program for persons with educational or physical deficiencies to enable them to serve effectively in the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 3782. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish the position of Chief Veterinary Officer of the Service and provide for the rank of Assistant Surgeon General for said position; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MacGREGOR:

H.R. 3783. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred in providing higher education; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 3784. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to increase the pensions payable to widows of veterans of the Spanish-American War; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3785. A bill to exclude from income certain reimbursed moving expenses; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 3786. A bill to amend title VII of the Public Health Service Act to authorize direct student loans to be made to certain students studying outside the United States; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. MIZE:

H.R. 3787. A bill for the establishment of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 3788. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1966 to provide for a national program of flood insurance; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 3789. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for chiropractors' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. NIX:

H.R. 3790. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. O'HARA of Michigan:

H.R. 3791. A bill to amend the Federal Hazardous Substances Labeling Act to specify the minimum size of type which must be used to print certain information on the labels of packages of hazardous substances; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. QUILLEN:

H.R. 3792. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase from \$600 to \$1,200 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including the exemption for a spouse, the exemption for a dependent, and the additional exemptions for old age and blindness); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 3793. A bill to incorporate the Catholic War Veterans of the United States of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3794. A bill to incorporate the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.R. 3795. A bill to amend title II of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to create an independent Federal Maritime Administration,

and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H.R. 3796. A bill to establish a Small Tax Division within the Tax Court of the United States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RUMSFELD:

H.R. 3797. A bill to provide for appointment by the Postmaster General of postmasters at first-, second-, and third-class post offices; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H.R. 3798. A bill to permit the State of Illinois to terminate the social security coverage, under its agreement entered into under section 218 of the Social Security Act, of the members of the police department of the village of Palatine; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 3799. A bill for the relief of the city of Pawtucket, R.I.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.R. 3800. A bill to amend the act of July 1, 1948, so as to provide that flag-holder-type headstones and grave markers shall be made available by the Secretary of the Army to mark the graves of certain deceased servicemen and veterans; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H.R. 3801. A bill to govern further development of the national cemetery system; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. SCHWEIKER:

H.R. 3802. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TENZER:

H.R. 3803. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to limit the maximum rate of percentage depletion to a rate of 20 percent, and to impose a special limitation on the amount of the depletion deduction where the proceeds thereof are used to finance the taxpayer's expansion into an unrelated field; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia:

H.R. 3804. A bill to incorporate Pop Warner Little Scholars, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ULLMAN:

H.R. 3805. A bill to provide for the disposition of judgment funds on deposit to the credit of the Confederate Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. VAN DEERLIN:

H.R. 3806. A bill to prohibit the transportation or shipment in interstate commerce of master keys to persons prohibited by State law from receiving or possessing them; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.R. 3807. A bill to require certain vessels operating on the navigable waters of the United States to conform to certain standards of waste disposal; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H.R. 3808. A bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide for a National Community Senior Service Corps; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 3809. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide a deduction for amounts expended by firemen for meals which they are required to eat at their post of duty; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 3810. A bill to provide training opportunities for persons employed in the legislative branch of the Government; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. HANNA:

H.R. 3811. A bill to promote the develop-

ment of nuclear-powered merchant ships; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. MATSUNAGA:

H.R. 3812. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, to authorize the transportation by air of all classes of mail to and from the State of Hawaii; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MILLS:

H.R. 3813. A bill to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.R. 3814. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to provide a program of death indemnification for persons serving in combat zones; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 3815. A bill to provide that the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall establish, operate, and maintain a Veterans' Administration cemetery in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. SISK:

H.R. 3816. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. VIGORITO:

H.R. 3817. A bill to authorize certain retired persons 65 years of age or over to participate in the food stamp and direct distribution programs; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WATKINS:

H.R. 3818. A bill to provide for the establishment of a national cemetery in the Ninth Congressional District of the State of Pennsylvania; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. WHITE:

H.R. 3819. A bill to provide for the establishment of the U.S. Academy of Foreign Affairs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON:

H.R. 3820. A bill to amend the act of April 3, 1952; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. KYROS:

H.R. 3821. A bill to provide full and fair disclosure of the nature of interests in real estate subdivisions sold through the mails and instruments of transportation or communication in interstate commerce, and to prevent frauds in the sale thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. EDMONDSON:

H.J. Res. 211. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that the right to vote shall not be denied on account of age to persons who are 18 years of age or older; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FLOOD (by request):

H.J. Res. 212. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H.J. Res. 213. Joint resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States to guarantee the right of any State to apportion one house of its legislature on factors other than population; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WATKINS:

H.J. Res. 214. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WHALLEY:

H.J. Res. 215. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia:

H.J. Res. 216. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide for revenue sharing with the several States and their political subdivisions; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WATKINS:

H.J. Res. 217. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to limit the power of the States and their political subdivisions to tax the salaries and wages of persons who are not domiciliaries or residents thereof; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DERWINSKI:

H. Con. Res. 87. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that any variation in the traditional interpretation of the treaties between the United States and the Republic of Panama may only be made pursuant to treaty; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois:

H. Con. Res. 88. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that in the public interest the administration should (1) cease and desist in its efforts to enforce selective economic discrimination against American farmers and ranchers by deliberately depressing farm prices, and (2) use the various legislative authorities at its disposal to improve and enhance farm prices in order to build a strong and viable market economy for agriculture, the cornerstone of American and free world prosperity; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H. Res. 175. Resolution establishing a Special Committee on the Captive Nations; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois:

H. Res. 176. Resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. CELLER:

H. Res. 177. Resolution to provide funds for the select committee pursuant to House Resolution 1, 90th Congress; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. FUQUA:

H. Res. 178. Resolution creating a Select Committee on Standards and Conduct; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MORGAN:

H. Res. 179. Resolution authorizing the Committee on Foreign Affairs to conduct a full and complete investigation of matters relating to the laws, regulations, directives, and policies including personnel pertaining to the Department of State and such other departments and agencies engaged primarily in the implementation of U.S. foreign policy and the overseas operations, personnel, and facilities of departments and agencies of the United States which participate in the development and execution of such policy; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. RESNICK:

H. Res. 180. Resolution to amend rules X, XI, and XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. SAYLOR:

H. Res. 181. Resolution expressing the continued opposition of the House of Representatives to the admission of the Communist China regime to the United Nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

4. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington, relative to Federal aid highway funds, which was referred to the Committee on Public Works.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 3822. A bill for the relief of Peitro De Vita; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3823. A bill for the relief of Michele Foglia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3824. A bill for the relief of Gaspare Impeduglia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3825. A bill for the relief of Salvatore Polizzi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3826. A bill for the relief of Antonio Rapisardi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3827. A bill for the relief of George Sembrakis; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3828. A bill for the relief of Jermin and Diran Tirpan and their minor child, Migirdic Tirpan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAREY:

H.R. 3829. A bill for the relief of Alfredo M. Fernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3830. A bill for the relief of Filomena Moccia; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CLANCY:

H.R. 3831. A bill for the relief of Konstantina D. Ioannou (Johnson); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CORBETT:

H.R. 3832. A bill for the relief of Mo Tseng Hsu and Cheng Hsing; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3833. A bill for the relief of Mr. Orlando Leone and his wife, Mrs. Silvia Leone; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3834. A bill for the relief of Dr. Anthony N. Manoli; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CURTIS:

H.R. 3835. A bill for the relief of Bernard Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3836. A bill for the relief of Dr. Ataoallah M. Yazdi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DELANEY:

H.R. 3837. A bill for the relief of Halina J. Adamska; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3838. A bill for the relief of Stefania Anc; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3839. A bill for the relief of Maria Esther Nacson De Garcia Moya; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FLOOD:

H.R. 3840. A bill for the relief of Miss Amalia Salvaterra; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 3841. A bill for the relief of Sybil Alexander Andrews; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3842. A bill for the relief of Francesco Canale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3843. A bill for the relief of Francesco Caroppo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3844. A bill for the relief of Christos Charakas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3845. A bill for the relief of Danilo Conti; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3846. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Fasulo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3847. A bill for the relief of Rosario Gancitano; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3848. A bill for the relief of Peter Goldson, his wife, Merva Hedy Goldson, and child, Brian Goldson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3849. A bill for the relief of Helen and Wilfred Henry; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3850. A bill for the relief of Antonio Lambert; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3851. A bill for the relief of Nicola Lante; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3852. A bill for the relief of Pietro Silvo Licata; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3853. A bill for the relief of Vito Mat-ranga; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3854. A bill for the relief of Jose Maya-Fernandez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3855. A bill for the relief of Lampros Nicolaides; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3856. A bill for the relief of Mario Noto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3857. A bill for the relief of Guido Parete, his wife, Giovanti Parete, and their children, Claudia and Mario Parete; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3858. A bill for the relief of Yacov Shimon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3859. A bill for the relief of Konstantinos Tsonatos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3860. A bill for the relief of Marianna and Francesco Turco; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3861. A bill for the relief of Faye Walters; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JOELSON:

H.R. 3862. A bill for the relief of Vered Baum; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LAIRD:

H.R. 3863. A bill for the relief of Antonio Gonzalez-Mora, and his wife, Natalia Sandoval Gonzalez-Mora; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MACGREGOR:

H.R. 3864. A bill for the relief of Martha Pilworn Kim; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3865. A bill for the relief of Mauritz A. Sterner; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MINISH:

H.R. 3866. A bill for the relief of Eduardo Enrique Ramos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MULTER:

H.R. 3867. A bill for the relief of Lucia Ciancimino; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. NIX:

H.R. 3868. A bill for the relief of Dr. Naveed A. Siddiqi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3869. A bill for the relief of Dr. Livia S. Wan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3870. A bill for the relief of Dr. Mohammad Zahir; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RONAN:

H.R. 3871. A bill for the relief of Vasilios C. Aggelopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3872. A bill for the relief of Vasilios Alexopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3873. A bill for the relief of Cavit Aldeide; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3874. A bill for the relief of Maria Hebda; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3875. A bill for the relief of Vasilios Kyriakopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3876. A bill for the relief of Irene Markopoulos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3877. A bill for the relief of Marina Restos; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3878. A bill for the relief of Polixene Viatsas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3879. A bill for the relief of Giuseppe Vitale; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.R. 3880. A bill for the relief of Dr. Sunshil Chang; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3881. A bill for the relief of Despina and Christina Hatzisavvas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3882. A bill for the relief of John Kon-dros; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3883. A bill for the relief of Ofelia Manrique; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3884. A bill for the relief of Dr. Mahmood Mousavipour; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 3885. A bill for the relief of Kazimiera Niemlowska; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 3886. A bill for the relief of Jose Isidro Rodriguez; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RUMSFELD:

H.R. 3887. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the U.S. Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Solomon S. Levadi; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WHALLEY:

H.R. 3888. A bill for the relief of Gordon Pak Man Gartner-Chan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H.R. 3889. A bill for the relief of Standard Meat Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

cated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING THE TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, statements during the transaction of routine morning business were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Special Subcommittee on Appalachia of the Committee on Public Works was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Committee on the Judiciary was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

REPORT ON EXPORT-IMPORT BANK INSURANCE AND GUARANTEES RELATING TO EXPORTS TO YUGOSLAVIA

A letter from the Secretary, Export-Import Bank of Washington, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, that the amount of Export-Import Bank insurance and guarantees issued in connection with U.S. exports to Yugoslavia, for the month of December 1966, totaled \$4,675; to the Committee on Appropriations.

REPORT ON NROTC FLIGHT INSTRUCTION PROGRAM

A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps flight instruction program, for the fiscal year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT UNDER EXEMPLARY REHABILITATION CERTIFICATES ACT

A letter from the Secretary of Labor, reporting, pursuant to law, that the information required to report under the Exemplary Rehabilitation Certificates Act is not available at this time; to the Committee on Armed Services.

AUTHORIZATION OF CERTAIN CONSTRUCTION IN SUPPORT OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize certain construction in support of military activities in south-east Asia (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR PROCUREMENT OF AIRCRAFT, MISSILES, AND TRACKED COMBAT VEHICLES FOR FISCAL YEAR 1967

A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1967 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Armed Services.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR PROCUREMENT OF AIRCRAFT, MISSILES, AND TRACKED COMBAT VEHICLES FOR FISCAL YEAR 1968

A letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1968 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat vehicles, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Armed Services.

INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX EXTENSION ACT OF 1967

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Finance.

REPORT ON SALES AND TRANSFERS OF FOREIGN EXCESS PROPERTY BY THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION

A letter from the Deputy Administrator, Veterans' Administration, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on sales and transfers of foreign excess property by that Administration, for the calendar year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

REPORTS OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on review of the administration of the District of Columbia Nonresident Tution Act, Board of Education, District of Columbia government, dated January 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on examination of financial statements, fiscal year 1966, Federal Prison Industries, Inc., Department of Justice, dated January 1967 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on audit of the Farm Credit Administration and certain banks of the farm credit system, fiscal year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

LAWS ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of all laws enacted by the Legislature of the Virgin Islands in its 1966 regular and special sessions (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

AMENDMENT OF SMALL RECLAMATION PROJECTS ACT OF 1956

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Small Reclamations Projects Act of 1956, as amended (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

REPORT ON CONDITIONAL ENTRIES

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on conditional entries of certain aliens, for the 6-month period ended December 31, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AGE DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1967

A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation cited as the "Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967" (with an accompanying paper);

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1967

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, help of the ages past, hope for the years to come, in the white of Thy holiness we know ourselves for what we are—petty, proud creatures who seek their own wills and whims in spite of the noble professions with which we come to Thee.

We would yield our flickering torch to the flame of Thy redeeming love. Consecrate with Thy presence the way our feet may go, and the humblest work will shine, and the rough places be made plain.

In a world filled with problems that perplex, may our hearts be strengthened by the realization that ours is also a time of splendor, bright with promise as we stand at the portal of a more glorious tomorrow.

Thus, may we be true to all truth the world denies, not tongue-tied by its gilded lies; not always right in all men's eyes, but faithful to the light within.

We ask it in the name of that one who is the way and the life. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, January 24, 1967, was dispensed with.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communi-